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ABSTRACT

This volume presents a study of the clause as a verb-centered construction surrounded by certain nuclear constituents which serve to subcategorize it. Five India-Nepal languages are examined: Kotia Oriya, Kupia, and Maithili (Indo-Aryan family); and Dhanghar-Kurux and Kolani (Dravidian family). Dhangar-Kurux and Maithili are spoken in Nepal, the remaining three languages in India. For other volumes in the series, see FL 004 899, FL 004 901 and FL 004 902. (DD)

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in selected languages of India and Nepal

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Patterns In Clause, Sentence, and Discourse

in selected languages of India and Nepal

Part II, Clause

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These volumes are unique in that they are the fruit of cooperation with two institutions--Andhra University in India and Tribhuvan University in Nepal. The Summer Institute of Linguistics was invited by Andhra University to conduct a linguistic workshop on its campus in January and February of 1972. This was the formal beginning of this four-phase report. The Andhra University campus was especially convenient since several of the languages under study were located in or near Andhra Pradesh.

We wish therefore to express our sincere appreciation to the Vice Chancellor, Mr. L. Bullayya, the Registrar, Mr. M. Gopalakrishna Reddy, and the Syndicate of Andhra University for their encouragement and cooperation in making this research possible.

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Introduction

We present in this volume the clause analyses of five languages of India-Nepal—Dhangar-Kurux, Kolami, Kotia Oriya, Kupia, and Maithili. Of these, three are Indo-Aryan (Kotia Oriya, Kupia, and Maithili); and two are Dravidian (Dhangar-Kurux and Kolami). Dhangar-Kurux and Maithili are spoken in Nepal; Kolami, Kotia Oriya, and Kupia are spoken in India.

We focus in these papers on clause as a verb-centered construction surrounded by certain nuclear constituents which serve to strictly subcategorize it. We are not focussing on sentence in the traditional sense of the term which would include clause and certain larger constructions of clause combination traditionally known as compound and complex sentences.

Each analysis is presented as a complete unit with the exception that a Combined References section is given at the end of the volume uniting references for individual articles. An Index to the contents is included at the end of each paper (the paper by Austin Hale is an exception to this). The format for all of the Clause Pattern papers is relatively uniform. The clause analysis of Parengi, a Munda language of Central India (actually an integral part of this volume) has been included in Volume I of this report merely to cut down on the size of this volume.

The theory and format for these papers have been worked out by Austin Hale in collaboration with Kenneth L. Pike and form a synthesis of sorts between two divergent models of linguistics—transformational generative and structural (Tagmemics). Hale's system is based on the assumptions that it is, "...possible to enumerate for all languages the possible range of sememic functions on the clause level and this inventory should provide a principled basis for the selection of feature values for box 4"; and that it is, "...possible to relate each box 4 entry in a clause to all other possible entries in such a way as to show its place in a coherent closed system and to make clear the range of phenomena covered by each possible entry." (Hale, p. 7). What he means by "box 4" and by "sememic functions on clause level," is made clear in the first article of this volume which he has kindly permitted us to use as an introduction to this compilation. His paper, "Toward the Systematization of Display Grammar," is included here just as it was published in Hale 1973, Vol. I. The reader is therefore alerted to the fact that his references to papers elsewhere in the volume refer to Hale's volume, not to ours. We would like to express our deep indebtedness to Austin Hale for the major role he has played in making our volume possible.

Briefly, from the technician's point of view, what Hale has done in his full transitivity system (Figure 1) is to give us a systematic means of eliciting, contrasting, and categorizing the major clause patterns of a language. Although some have found, and Hale recognizes, that the terminal nodes of the tree or cells of the matrix do not include all that there is to say about the clause patterns of a language (in that there can be subtypes of these patterns), the fact remains that the system does function to give us the major patterns. The average number of patterns for five of the papers presented was 10.4 per language (not counting subtypes). Dhangar-Kurux was not included in the count because only inherent clause patterns from the Event half of the matrix are handled in that paper.

		Und + Sit	Und	Sit	
Event	Actor	Ditransitive	Transitive	SemiTransitive	Intransitive
		DiReceptive	Receptive	SemiReceptive	Eventive
State	Actor	DiStative	Stative	SemiStative	Descriptive
		DiAttributive	Attributive	SemiAttributive	Circumstantial

Figure 1. Full Transitivity Matrix.

The fact that no one went beyond Hale's original 16 witnesses to the comprehensiveness of the model and its ability to provide a basic framework from which the technician can begin to operate in a language. The fact that many languages had to posit subtypes of the major patterns seems to indicate that the model may be inadequate at these points. It may, however, be one of the drawbacks inherent in any binary system of language which exhausts its own universe of meaning. Perhaps this is as far as we can expect to go in systematizing natural language. Perhaps on the other hand, with more research on these points at which subtypes are needed, it will be found that there are more regular features which can be brought into the system thus cutting down on the need for subtypes.

Toward the Systematization of Display Grammar

Austin Hale

The formal characterization of human linguistic competence in terms of a specification of the form of grammar has long been a central concern of transformational generative grammar. In constructing such a characterization, a great deal of importance has been placed upon the fact that no natural language currently spoken can be equated with any finite corpus. A natural result of this emphasis is the view that the grammar of a natural language consists primarily of rules, and thus that a specification of the rule types available for the construction of a grammar and a specification of the roles that the various rule types are allowed to play within the grammar in the generation of sentences together with their structural descriptions, and their phonological and semantic interpretations. We may accept this as a legitimate approach to a very significant set of problems without necessarily agreeing that the approach is the only legitimate one or that the problems it is concerned with are the only accessible or fruitful ones. The work reported on in this volume does not represent a rejection of rule grammar but rather an attempt to explore an alternative approach to an alternative set of problems. At times the two converge sufficiently to allow comparison, though this is not our main concern.

The exploitation of insights into the basic characteristics of rational human behavior (especially linguistic behavior) by formulating these insights as specific analytic techniques has long been a central concern of Tagmemics. Tagmemics may, in fact, be defined in terms of a certain set of characteristics that are taken to be essential prerequisites of rational human communication[2] and thus crucial to any analytic strategy for linguistic description. As a field method for language analysis, Tagmemics has few rivals. Formulaic representations are viewed more as abbreviatory conveniences than as formalizations of linguistic competence. Though the underlying behavioral characteristics which the formulae seek to capture are taken as central to the theory, the form that they take is determined more by the needs of the field worker for maintaining order in the corpus and for an arrangement of data which facilitates the discovery of recurrent patterns than by the dictates of an abstract theory which specifies the inventory of possible rule types and their interrelationships within the grammar. Analytic stability of the notational scheme takes priority over compactness and economy. Altering a formula in a grammar of types and levels often has only limited ramifications for the rest of the grammar, whereas a change to a rule in a tight and economical rule grammar will often have consequences for a large segment of the grammar. The advantages of this stability for the ordinary working linguist in a field situation should be clear—the stable system provides him a better basis for setting up his files.

Tagmemics thus understood is not only open to alternative presentation devices but has been quite productive along this line.[3] As might be expected, these presentation devices have been built upon the basic characteristics central to Tagmemics and are suggestive of analytic strategy. They do not constitute contributions to the form of grammar nor are they intended as such.

The contributions of this volume do not represent radical departures from the Tagmemic tradition. There is, however, an underlying desire to add a more explicit approach to linguistic universals to the traditional interest in analytic strategy. Given the appropriate limitation of domain,[4] there should be no theoretical objection to using the basic characteristics in an approach to the study of language universals—a study in terms of which one might eventually hope to motivate a Tagmemic form of grammar. Whether or not this view will turn out to be a notational variant of some standard theory remains to be seen.

The purpose of this paper, then, is to relate the material reported on in this volume to the basic characteristics central to Tagmemics and to analytic strategy in linguistic field work. In the introduction to Part II of this volume we will attempt to relate some of the materials of this report to linguistic universals and to their negative counterparts, which are productive of linguistic typology. In the introduction to Part II the approach to analytic strategy at clause level will also be developed further.

I. BOX 4: AN APPROACH TO SYSTEMATIZATION

What do we mean by box 4? Recent work in Tagmemics[5] has led to the development of what might be viewed as a feature analysis of syntactic constructions. There are some nine kinds of information potentially relevant to any analysis of linguistic structure. A tagmeme can now be viewed as a complex symbol in which features of various kinds are used to specify the information relevant to a given analysis. These nine kinds of information are defined by a dimensional array in which the three hierarchies (grammatical, sememic, and phonological) are placed along one axis, and the three notions (function, systemic class, and item) are placed along the other axis. The cells so formed are conventionally numbered one through nine.

	Function	Systemic Class	Item
Grammatical	1 Focus	2 Category	3 Specific (Lexical) Form Cited
Sememic	4 Role	5 Conceptual Complex	6 Specific (Encyclopedic) Meaning of Cited Form
Phonological	7	8	9

Figure 1. The nine-box tagmeme.

Each of the boxes lays claim to an independent status within Tagmemics. The degree to which any given tagmeme shows redundancy among its cells is currently taken as a measure of the peripherality of the tagmeme.[6] This claim to independence can be rather simply illustrated. We will limit our discussion to the first six boxes.

1. John read a book to Sammy.
2. A book was read to Sammy by John.
3. Sammy was read to by John.

In Example 1, the grammatical function of *John* may be viewed as complex. It is at least the subject of the sentence. It is probably also theme of the sentence. The same grammatical function is performed in Example 2 by *a book*, and in Example 3 by *Sammy*. While *John* in 1, *a book* in 2, and *Sammy* in 3 share the same grammatical function, they differ in sememic function, *John* being an actor, *a book* being what we will call an undergoer, and *Sammy* being what we shall refer to as a site.

Examples of this sort are quite common in the literature on case grammar and tend to support the view, in whatever way it may be stated, that grammatical function and sememic function are to some extent independent. Given only the grammatical function of an item, it is not in general possible to determine the sememic function or vice versa. Boxes 1 and 4 are thus independent. Both need to be specified in some way by the grammar.

4. The noise bothered me.
5. He makes a lot of noise when he sleeps.
6. The cave gave a hollow resonance to the noise.

Given only a particular grammatical item such as *noise* in Examples 4 through 6, it is not in general possible to predict either the grammatical function or the sememic function that it performs. Neither grammatical nor sememic function are in general predictable strictly in terms of the identification of a citation form. Box 3 is thus independent both of box 1 and of box 4.

7. The cobbler used a steel last to make that shoe.
8. He came in last in the 100 yard dash.
9. How long did it last?

Given only a particular grammatical item, it is not always possible to make a unique specification of grammatical category or even of the specific meaning of the cited form. In Example 7, *last* is a noun; in 8 it is some kind of adverb; and in 9 it is a verb. In each instance it has a different specific meaning. Box 3 is thus in principle independent of boxes 2 and 6.

10. The ship was all decked out for her maiden voyage.
11. The pants were well pressed.
12. More than one of his students comes here to bowl.

Examples 10 through 12 illustrate reasons for distinguishing grammatical gender and number from their sememic counterparts. In general the semantic class or conceptual complex of a word is independent of its role in a clause, of the particular grammatical cetegory to which it belongs, and does not uniquely predict its specific meaning. Thus there is a noun, *heat*, and a verb, *heat*, which share a great deal with one another within box 5. In box 2, however, they share relatively little in terms of their surface representation.

It will be noted that we use the notion, predicate (P), both in box 1 and in box 4. We have found no satisfactory alternative for this term, yet there are grammatical predicates which are not sememic predicates and vice versa; consequently we wish to use the notion in both boxes. The difference between sememic and grammatical predicates often surfaces in terms of disagreements as to what the verb is in clauses such as the following:

13. a) John was tall.
    b) John was angry at me.
    c) John was inclined to go.

Sememically one wishes to view the predicate as that which carries the role frame (i.e., which is strictly subcategorized by the nuclear clause constituents in some sense). In the examples of 13, the copula *was* clearly does not have this function. Whether a given copular clause accepts a site such as *at me* or a clausal complement such as *to go home* or neither of these is in no way determined by the verb *to be*. The words that are pivotal for the role frame are words such as *tall*, *angry*, and *inclined*. For this reason we wish to view these as sememic predicates. They do not inflect directly for person, number, or tense; nor do they participate directly in the modal or auxiliary constructions normally associated with grammatical predicates. For this reason we wish to view the copula *was* as the grammatical predicate in the examples of 13.

Examples of this kind lead one to conclude that box 4 is in principle independent of the other six semantico-syntactic boxes. It consists of a set of functional or relational notions relevant to the sememic interpretation of the tagmeme. On clause level, box 4 relates to those case-like relations in terms of which verbs are subcategorized.

What do we mean by systematization? A chronic practical problem for the Tagmemic field worker has been that of inventing appropriate labels for slots and for fillers. Now that we have sememic slots (box 4) as well as grammatical slots (box 1), and sememic filler classes (box 5) as well as grammatical ones (box 2), this problem promises to become increasingly acute in the absence of some kind of systematic etic framework. Our pursuit of system within box 4 started with a query. Will it eventually be possible to specify an exhaustive inventory of possible sememic relations? Could all the labels be supplied in advance? It should in principle be possible enumerate for all languages the possible range of sememic functions on the clause level and this inventory should provide a principled basis for the selection of feature values for box 4. A linguist who was trained from such a point of view would be able to *recognize* predefined box 4 relations in any language under study and label-making would become a venture for the theorist who sought to argue for the theoretical status of a new relation rather than an ad hoc occupation of the field analyst.

A further hope was that it would be possible to relate each box 4 entry in a clause to all other possible entries in such a way as to show its place in a coherent closed system and to make clear the range of phenomena covered by each possible entry. The realization of this hope is what we mean by systematization.

Could case grammar by a systematization of box 4? Our earliest candidates for the features of box 4 on clause level were Fillmorian cases. We moved away from this starting point rather early and it may be useful to give some indication of the reasons for and the direction of this move. Fillmorian cases appeared to incorporate a great deal which is, from our point of view, nonrelational. The feature of animateness was a part of the definition of certain cases.[7] From our point of view the specification of animateness belonged to box 5, and we did not wish to treat it again as part of the definition of a sememic relationship. We wished, for example, to be able to show parallelisms between the sememic relationships of subject to verb (or to clause) in examples such as the following:

14. The river washed the boulder away with a sudden torrent of water.
15. John scrubbed the dirt away with a brush.
16. The locomotive cleared the snow away with a snowplough.

In some sense, *the river*, *John*, and *the locomotive* are all actors and are in some sense all capable of the actions named by their accompanying verbs. Yet neither the river nor the locomotive is animate in the sense of a volitional responsible initiator and neither is personified in these instances. If these could not be agents by virtue of their inanimateness, then we would need another case, say, inanimate agent.

We wished to distinguish between the properties of particular words or sets of words on the one hand and relationships on the other. Pike noted that one way to approach this would be to look at the total range of relations a given noun could enter into with respect to its verb. We would expect that if we had the right system, most nouns would occur in most relationships at one time or another, otherwise our set of relations could be suspected of incorporating elements which should actually be analyzed as parts of the meanings of individual lexical items.

In Fillmore's case system it appears that most lexical items do not enter into the full range of case relationships. There are also rather severe apparent restrictions on the occurrent subsets of the set of cases. Nothing approaching the full set of cases occurs with any given verb in any given clause in a subcategorizing relationship to the verb. The following examples taken from Fillmore (1971:249) may be used to illustrate how our thinking was moving relative to Fillmore's analysis.

17. I am warm.
18. This jacket is warm.
19. Summer is warm.
20. The room is warm.

In Example 17, I is Experiencer. In 18, this jacket is Instrument. In 19, Summer is Time. In 20, the room is Location. It should be noted that in each instance in which the noun is concrete the sentence is ambiguous. In 17 we thus have at least two interpretations: 1) the person speaking feels warm (Experiencer), or 2) the person speaking has had his temperature taken and is warm (Object). (I'm warm according to that thermometer, but I sure feel cold.) The first person pronoun apparently lacks Instrumental, Temporal, and Locative interpretations. In 18 we find a slightly wider range of interpretations. One may use a jacket to get warm (Instrument), one may determine by using a thermometer that the jacket is warm (Object), and it may be warm in the jacket (Locative), but the jacket lacks the Experiencer relationship and Time relationship. It might be suggested that the reason jacket cannot be an Experiencer is that it is insentient, and the reason that it cannot occur in a Time case is that it is a concrete noun and thus is neither abstract nor temporal. We began to get the impression that the restrictions on the set of cases in which a given noun can occur may be traced to domains of meaning that we would prefer to deal with in box 5. Consider, by way of comparison, the following:

21. The water is warm.
It's warm in the water; come on in!

Water in example 21 may be an Object, a Location, and possibly an Instrument. It fails as a Time since it is concrete and nontemporal. Restrictions on the case relations a given word can enter into seem to have a great deal to do with what a given word means. This we found uncomfortable.

Role features and the transitivity system. We propose to explore another possible approach at this point. Suppose we say that there is an attributive relationship between the subject and the predicate adjective in each of the examples 17 through 21. Suppose we call this relationship undergoer. By reference to features available in box 5, we can then reconstruct the experiencer relationship as that which holds between a predicate which names a sensation and a sentient noun which is its undergoer. The ambiguity is captured by the fact that warm may name a sensation or a relative temperature. Both are permitted as the meaning of the word; indeed, they may be expressed as part of the conceptual complex associated with the word in box 5. The ambiguity is then interpreted as lexical, not syntactic.

We have moved two steps away from a Fillmorian case system. The first step involved factoring box 5 notions out of the case system. The desirability of doing this came first to our attention in terms of the animate-inanimate distinction that existed between various cases, but later became much more general as illustrated above. The second step was to draw a line between nuclear and peripheral items that would allow only non-predictable items within the clause nucleus. Constituents that were optional and whose optional occurrence possibility could be predicted in terms of other items in the clause were tentatively excluded from the clause nucleus. (This is further discussed in Section II below.) These steps led us to the eight branch tree given in Figure 2 which we propose as a candidate system for box 4.

Our preliminary approach derives from the fact that with each cell in the nine-box tagmeme there is an associated system which can be expressed either as a tree or as a matrix. Within this approach we posit a limited inventory of putative universal roles in terms of which languages may be comparably described and rather directly compared. We conceive of this as a conceptual space defined by role features such as actor, undergoer, and site.

The tree in Figure 2 explicitly links the role features, actor, undergoer, and site, to the notion of relative transitivity. It also entails the view that the most basic and central of the transitivity types are the BiTransitive and the Transitive. The tree explicitly exhausts its conceptual universe in terms of binary choices. The features in terms of which it is constructed are symmetrical to the system and independent of one another, allowing us to represent the same system in terms of a dimensional array to which we will refer as the

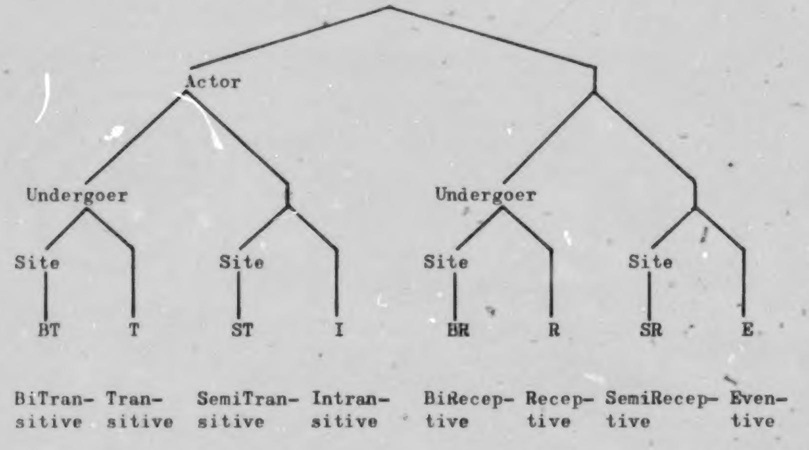
Actor
Undergoer
Undergoer
Site
Site
Site
Site
BT
T
ST
I
BR
R
SR
E
BiTransitive
Transitive
SemiTransitive
Intransitive
BiReceptive
Receptive
SemiReceptive
Eventive

Figure 2. The transitivity system as defined by role features.

transitivity matrix. Our standard matrix representation of the tree given in Figure 2 is that given in Figure 3.

	Und + Sit	Und	Sit	
Actor	BT	T	ST	I
	BR	R	SR	E

Figure 3. The transitivity system as a dimensional array.

The relation of the role system to transitivity may be viewed informally in the following way. The highest degree of transitivity usually attributed to a clause is that of BiTransitive. Taking BiTransitive as basic to the system, we observe that BiTransitive may be defined as having three role features: actor, undergoer, and site. The rest of the system is then arrived at by establishing one transitivity type for each possible combination of the unordered subsets of the features which define BiTransitive. It now appears that one of the functions of embedding in natural language is that of preventing the formation of a clause with a higher degree of transitivity than BiTransitive. The transitivity types obtained in this way may be illustrated for Newari as follows:

22. BT: Waa jitaa saphuu bila.
Act Sit Und
He gave me a book.

23. T: Wag̣ lāsā dīla.
Act Und
He beat the mattress.

24. ST: Wa cheg̣ cwana.
Act Sit
He stayed home.

25. I: Wa dana.
Act
He stood up.

26. BR: Jitaa wa lākāg̣ jila.
Sit Und
Those shoes came to fit me.

27. R: Rām khwāg̣ jula.
Sit
Ram became deaf.

28. SR: Mirāyā tyanhula.
Sit
Myra came to feel tired.

The English gloss for Example 28 is not SemiReceptive. An English example of SemiReceptive might be

29. It got hot in the room.

The Eventive pattern is not an inherent contrastive type in Newari. The following might be an example for English:

30. It rained.

where it is an empty subject fulfilling no particular role.

Inherent patterns and their derived variants. A contrastive clause pattern may be thought of as a set of verbs together with a common role frame which they govern. Since the roles in a role frame are not always obligatory, we often have a wide range of derived variants within a single clause pattern. Take as an example the BiTransitive clause,

31. He read the book to his son.
Act Und Sit

By omission of a role we may have the Transitive variant,

32. He read the book.
Act Und

or the SemiTransitive variant,

33. He read to his son.
Act Sit

or even the Intransitive variant,

34. He read.
Act

In addition to this, the passive derivation allows the set of Receptive variants:

the BiReceptive,

35. The book was read to his son.
Und Sit

the Receptive,

36. The book was read.
Und

and the SemiReceptive,

37. His son was read to.
Sit

Lacking is only the Eventive, since the verb *read* appears to disallow the empty *it* as its subject. For our purposes we wish to distinguish between *derived* variants and *inherent contrastive patterns*. A verb will be assigned to the inherent contrastive pattern which corresponds to that defined by its full complement of roles. *Read*, in the sense just illustrated, is thus BiTransitive, and each of the derived variants illustrated is viewed as a variant of the BiTransitive pattern. The derived variant BiReceptive clause in Example 35 is thus viewed as contrasting with the inherently contrastive BiReceptive clause,

38. The book was difficult for him.
Und Sit

since *difficult* does not control a frame which includes an actor.

The box 4 system at clause level and other systems. Our candidate box 4 system for clause level contains three relational role features: actor, undergoer, and site. The various combinations of these features yield the eight degrees of transitivity presented in Figures 2 and 3. These degrees of transitivity may be viewed as alternative box 4 entries for the clause as a whole, and are important to the determination of clause type.

Our candidate box 1 system for clause level contains three relational focus features: subject, object, and referent, referent being a cover term for indirect object and bound locative. The various combinations of these features can also be thought of as yielding eight degrees of transitivity, subject being the box 1 analog of actor, object of undergoer, and referent of site. In addition to this there are certain box 1 features which are assigned under focus derivations. In thematic focus we follow Halliday in distinguishing theme from rheme, and in information focus we accept his distinction of given from new.

As yet we have no candidate system for either box 2 or box 5 at clause level. These systems have yet to be studied extensively. We will in the meantime, however, be using the traditional categories for box 2 (noun phrase, verb phrase, prepositional phrase, adjective phrase, adverb phrase, and the like) as well as features for such things as grammatical gender and number where these differ from natural gender and number. In box 5 we will distinguish animate and inanimate, concrete and abstract, human and non-human, natural gender, natural number, and the like.

These systems are related to one another in terms of the nine-box tagmeme. Since we are not dealing with phonology to any great extent in this volume, we will be using at most six of the nine boxes. How many of these six boxes are used will depend upon whether a given tagmeme is a terminal or a non-terminal tagmeme. Boxes 3 and 6 are used for specific cited forms. For that reason they will appear only in terminal tagmemes. Terminal tagmemes in this study will employ at the most six boxes and non-terminal tagmemes at the most four. What is treated as terminal will depend at present upon the extent of our interest in detail. Eventually, of course, when a generative interpretation is made of the scheme, full details will be uniformly and automatically provided by the rules for all units generated.

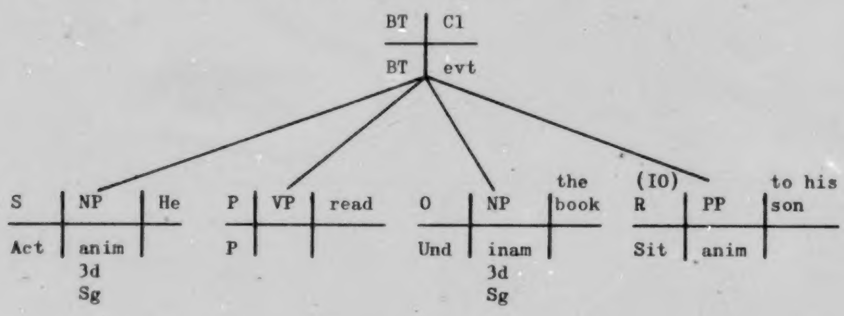

Figure 4. Four-box non-terminal and six-box terminal nodes in a tagmemic structure tree. (S = subject, P = predicate, O = Object, R = referent, IO = indirect object, NP = noun phrase, VP = verb phrase, PP = preposition phrase,

Act = actor, Und = undergoer, Sit = site, anim = animate, 3d = 3d person, Sg = singular, BT = BiTransitive, Cl = clause, evt = event.)

We wish also to allow ourselves the alternative representation given in Figure 5, as well as the abbreviated representation given in Figure 6.

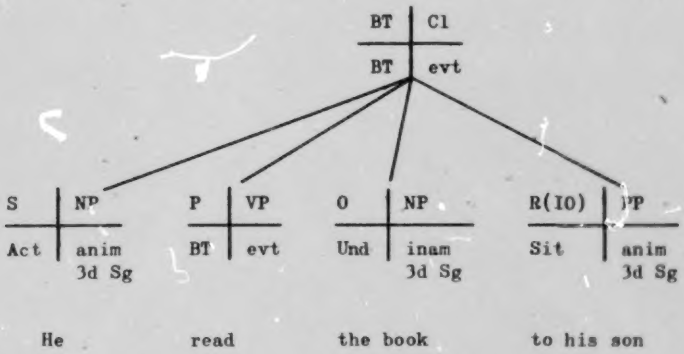

Figure 5. Alternative representation of tagmemic structure tree.

BT:	Waa	jita	saphuu	bila	(box 3)
	S	R(IO)	O	P	(box 1)
	Act	Sit	Und	P	(box 4)
	He	to me	book	gave	(box 6, phrase by phrase)
	He gave me (a) book				(box 6, whole clause)

Figure 6. Abbreviated format of tagmemic structure tree.

We will also have occasion to use a reduced version of the abbreviation in Figure 6 from time to time.

Discourse features. Not all clauses have the same distribution within discourse. Certain clauses (or verbs) are typically stative, others are typically eventive. Our initial approach to the use of discourse features within the clause was very limited. We noted that central to the organization of narrative discourse are clauses which refer to actual overt events in past time. Such clauses make up the backbone of narrative discourse. These are referred to as state (stative) clauses. There appear to be a large number of inherently eventive verbs in the languages studied and a rather small number of inherently stative verbs. By the same token there appear to be a large number of devices for stativizing inherently eventive clauses, and a relatively small number of devices for eventivizing stative clauses.

Narrative, of course, is not the only type of discourse. It is to be expected that each type of discourse will define its own backbone and hence its own set of discourse features. It is obvious that our systematization at this point is very sketchy.

Nevertheless, the state-event dichotomy was helpful in our approach to discourse-related derivations. This feature was added to the transitivity system given in Figure 3, yielding the system shown in Figure 7.

		Und + Sit	Und	Sit	
Event	Act	BiTransitive	Transitive	SemiTransitive	Intransitive
		BiReceptive	Receptive	SemiReceptive	Eventive
State	Act	BiStative	Stative	SemiStative	Descriptive
		BiAttributive	Attributive	SemiAttributive	Circumstantial

Figure 7. Transitivity matrix multiplied by one discourse feature: State vs. Event.

II. CONTRAST: AN APPROACH TO PATTERN

Evidence now available points to the possibility that most languages will have clauses with surface constituency appropriate to each of the cells in Figure 3 and to most, if not all, of the cells in Figure 7. It does not follow, however, that all languages will distinguish sixteen basic contrastive clause patterns. The notion, clause pattern, includes not only that basic, simple, relatively underived clause which most easily and clearly fits into a given cell in Figure 3 or 7, but also the total set of clauses that derive from it. The primary basis for establishing contrast among clause patterns is indeed that of role constituency. But role constituency is defined in terms of a basic form, not in terms of the total derived set. The clause 39,

39. He read.

is superficially Intransitive, but since 39 may be viewed as a reduction of a more inclusive pattern, the BiTransitive given in 40,

40. He read the book to his son.

the existence of 39 does not argue for the existence of Intransitive as a basic contrastive pattern in English. Example 39 simply forms part of the total BiTransitive pattern. Our discussion of contrast thus involves not only a discussion of contrast among role features but also a discussion of derivational patterns.

On selecting basic contrastive forms. If one views the types in Figure 2 as constituting a transitivity scale, we may say that BiTransitive is the highest on the scale and Eventive is lowest on the scale. The form we choose from a given total derivation pattern for a given verb as the basic contrastive form for the pattern as a whole should be as high on the transitivity scale as possible without having overt markings of embeddings or of derivations which allow the addition of roles to the simple basic form. (As currently formulated, our approach is quite attentive to certain characteristics of surface structure.) Another way of expressing this would be to say that where there are plus-minus options in the nucleus of a given clause type, only those examples in which all the plus options have been exercised should be viewed as basic.

In Newari, for example, a paradigm can be constructed for the verb khwāụe 'to get cold' which includes both a BiTransitive and an Eventive clause. Consider first the BiTransitive example:

41.	BT	Waạ	jhiita	wa kwathā	khwāụ-kā	bila
		S	R	O	P	
		Act	Ben Sit	Und	P	
		He	for us	that room	cold-cause	gave
		He made that room cold for us.				

Example 41 has overt indications of two derivations which have allowed additional roles to occur in the clause. The verb bila 'gave' is used here as a benefactive auxiliary permitting the introduction of the benefactive site jhiita 'for us.' If bila were removed, jhiita could not remain in the clause and 42 results:

42.	T	Waạ	wa kwathā	khwāụ-kala
		S	O	P
		Act	Und	P
		He	that room	cold-caused
		He made that room cold.		

Example 42 has one overt indication of a derivation which has allowed an additional role. The verbal suffix -k identifies the clause as causative. The causative construction permits the introduction of an actor. An underlying actor would be reinterpreted as site under causative derivation. If the causative is removed, the causative actor cannot remain and 43 results:

43.	R	Wa kwathā	khwāụla	44.	A	Wa kwathā	khwāụ.
		S	P			S	P
		Und	P			Und	P
		that room	cold			that room	cold
		That room became cold.				That room is cold.	

Example 43 betrays one further indication of derivation. Verbs in Newari which are inherently eventive have a habitual interpretation for their stative forms but a simple eventive interpretation for the past eventive tense. Verbs which are inherently stative are interpreted only as simple states in the stative form but involve arrival in a state in their past eventive tense. Example 43 has a past eventive tense and has the interpretation, arrival in a state. We therefore consider the stative form in Example 44. All indications to this point would favor Example 44 as the basic member of the derivational pattern. Other members of the pattern are given below.

45. E Khwāụla.
It became cold.

46. C Khwāụ.
It is cold.

47. S Waạ wa kwathā khwāụkuu.
He makes the room cold.

48. BS Wayā jhiita wa kwathā khwāụkā byuu.
He makes that room cold for us.

As is sometimes the case, khwāụ participates in two different derivational patterns, either of which might in some way be derived from the other. The second pattern for khwāụ is as follows:

49. BT Waa jhiita wa kwathāe khwāụkā bila.
He made it cold in that room for us.

50. ST Waạ wa kwathāe khwāụkala.
He made it cold in that room.

51. SR Wa kwathāe khwāụla.
It became cold in that room.

52. BS Wayā jhiita wa kwathāe khwāụkā byuu.
He makes it cold in that room for us.

53. SA Wa kwathāe khwāụ.
R P
Sit P
in that room cold
It's cold in that room.

Examples 45 and 46 may be viewed as belonging to both patterns. The second pattern lacks a SemiStative member parallel to the SemiTransitive in 50. Otherwise the two patterns differ only in that where the first pattern has an undergoer, the second pattern has a site. The basic member of the second paradigm would be 53. Tentatively we view the two paradigms as separate, but we would look for more evidence to support the view that a basic SA pattern stands in contrast to a basic A pattern in Newari. We would look especially at those verbs which participate only in a single pattern.

The initial choice of the basic member of a derivational pattern is open to modification as the analysis progresses. On our current approach, however, it is the set of role features associated with the basic members of the various clause patterns that define the major contrastive clause patterns for a language. Two simple basic clauses which contrast in terms of role features are currently taken to belong to different major clause patterns. Clauses which differ in ways other than in terms of role features are viewed as subtypes of the same major pattern.

Contrast among major patterns rests crucially upon contrast between roles or role features. To show that two roles stand in contrast, we have required that they be shown to co-occur as nuclear elements in a single clause (not simply as permitted peripheral expansions of a given type), and that they are not better analyzed as the result of conjunction, embedding, or elipsis. Placing priority on role features in this way has had the result of limiting the number of major patterns. If priority has been placed instead upon the rules required for surface structure mappings or upon specific semantic content of the variant manifestations of a given role, the number of major types recognized would have been much greater.

Contrast among nuclear roles. So far we have indicated that contrast among roles is established by their co-occurrence within the nuclei of basic clauses; that contrast among roles may then be used as a basis for establishing contrast between basic clauses that differ from one another in role features; and that further support for the contrastive status of various basic clauses can be gained by an examination of the total derivational paradigms associated with the basic contrastive types. What we have done so far in this section is to give one example of how a basic clause may be picked from the derivational pattern or paradigm in which it is found. Now we turn to examples of contrast among nuclear roles within individual clauses.

We may consider first certain kinds of examples that we do not wish to treat as contrastive nuclear co-occurrences of roles within the simple clause. Thus far we have found no compelling examples of two equally and independently nuclear roles within the actor complex of a simple clause.

54. John dug a ditch with a spade.

55. The spade dug a ditch.

The actor in 54 is John. In 55 the actor is the spade. In 54, however, the spade is viewed as a peripheral instrument because the possibility of adding an instrument to a clause depends upon the presence of an actor in the pattern. A clause with an instrument in which no overt actor occurs, such as 56, carries with it the entailment of a deleted actor.

56. The ditch was dug with a spade.

By contrast, 55 does not necessarily entail a deleted actor, and thus has a rather bizarre interpretation that is not available for 56, namely that the spade dug the ditch all by itself. In this way it can be made clear that the semantic relationship of with a spade to dug in 54 is not necessarily identical to the semantic relationship of the spade to *dug* in 55. Instruments and actors in English do not appear to be equally and independently nuclear within the simple clause. This observation appears to hold for the other languages with which we have been working as well.

Thus far we have found no compelling examples of two equally and independently nuclear roles within the undergoer complex of a simple clause. Often cited as a counter-example are clauses such as 57.

57. They elected him president.

They consider him a genius.

In each of the clauses of 57 we accept *him* as undergoer. The noun phrases, *president*, *a genius*, however, are traced to a complement clause embedded within the main clause. The clauses in 57 are thus reductions of those in 58.[8]

58. They elected him to be president.

They consider him to be a genius.

Thus far we have found no compelling examples of two equally and independently nuclear roles within the site complex of a simple clause. One kind of apparent counter-example that can be given is 59.

59. It seemed hot to me in that room.

Goal-site is *to me*. *In that room* is an apparent candidate for locative-site. A better analysis, however, would supply an antecedent to *it*, say *the atmosphere*. *In that room* then may be interpreted as a restrictive relative clause attributive to the undergoer. It would be the remains of a relative clause, the head of which had been deleted. *In that room* in 59 thus represents the undergoer and not a locative-site.

We turn now to a consideration of contrast among roles within simple clauses in Newari.

60.	BT	Wạa	jitaa	kwathā	bila
		S	R	O	P
		Act	Sit	Und	P
		He	to me	room	gave
		He gave me a room.			

Example 60 qualifies as a basic member of its derivational pattern. The verb is in past tense and has the interpretation of a simple event in past time rather than that of arrival in a state; hence the verb is basically eventive. There are no derivationally linked roles that we have been able to detect. If any one of the three roles is deleted, it is entailed, or understood, not simply omitted. Actor and site are deletable in this way.

61. BR Jitaa kwathā bila.
I was given a room (understood: by someone).

62. T Waạ kwathā bila.
He gave a room (understood: to someone).

63. R Kwathā bila.
A room was given (understood: by someone to someone).

The deletion of undergoer is more restricted. It occurs, for example, in specific idioms.

64. I Dewaạ bila; dewaạ kāla.
God gives, god takes away.

65. ST Dewaạ jitaa bila.
(this fortune) is given to me by god.

Each of the three roles appears to be nuclear, each is contrastively different in its relationship to the verb and to the clause as a whole. Thus far we have found no natural set of underlying clauses into which 61 can be analyzed.

That each of the three roles is independently contrastive within a Bi-Transitive pattern in Newari can be shown by the existence of patterns which differ from the BiTransitive in that they occur with all but one of the roles of the BiTransitive. Given any one of the three roles, actor, undergoer, and site, it is not possible in general to predict the presence or absence of any other role or pair of roles in the clause nucleus. In Example 44 we saw that there is a clause pattern which allows only the undergoer within the nucleus. In 66 we have an example of a clause pattern which allows an actor and a site, but no undergoer.[9]

66. ST Wa cheẹ wana.
S R P
Act Sit P
He home went
He went home.

In 67 we have a basic clause which has only an actor.

67. I Rām dana.
S P
Act P
Ram awoke
Ram woke up.

In 68 we have a basic clause which has only a site.

68. SA Mirāyā tyānhuu.
R P
Sit P
Mira tired
Mira is tired (Lit: Tiredness is of Mira.)

There is no contrastive pattern in Newari which has no roles, but from the examples given it can be seen that there are patterns in which only actor, or only undergoer, or only site occur; there is a pattern in which all three roles occur; and there is a pattern in which actor and site occur. As further evidence of the independent contrastive status of the roles within the clause patterns of Newari, Example 69 shows a basic clause which has undergoer and site.

69. BR Jitaa wa lākāạ jyuu.
R O P
Sit Und P
Those shoes fit me.

Example 70 gives a basic clause which has actor and undergoer.

70. T Waạ lāsā dāla
S O P
Act Und P
He beat the mattress.

The three roles, actor, undergoer, site, can thus be viewed as features which combine independently and contrastively within the Newari clause nucleus to define a limited number of major clause patterns. The extent to which such patterning is functional within the language can be measured in part by the extent to which differences between such patterns are reflected in differences in the derivational system of the language. For an illustration of derivational patterning which supports the contrastive status of major clause patterns as discussed above, we turn to an illustration from Kham.

Contrast among derivational patterns. We have indicated roughly how contrastive co-occurrence of roles within the clause nuclei of various patterns can be used to support the independent, contrastive status of role features within the clause system of a given language. We have indicated how the combinations of such roles can be used to establish the system of clause patterns for a given language. In this section we will indicate how further support for the contrastive status of various basic clauses can be gained by an examination of the total derivational paradigm associated with these basic clauses.

We have distinguished between contrastive and non-contrastive derivations of a basic clause pattern. Non-contrastive derivations involve the exercise of plus-minus options within the clause nucleus without overt registration in the verb or elsewhere. Contrastive derivations involve more than the optional omission of nuclear roles. The difference may be illustrated from English.

71. John gave Bill a book.

72. John gave a book.

73. Bill was given a book by John.

74. Bill was given a book.

Example 71 may be taken as representing the basic clause. Example 72 is non-contrastively derived from 71 by site omission. Example 72 represents the minus option for site. Example 73 is contrastively derived from 71 by passive. The English passive derivation is contrastive in a number of ways.

71.	John	gave	Bill	a book
	S	P	R	O
	Act	P	Sit	Und
		(active)		

73.	Bill	was given	a book	by John.
	S	P	O	A
	Sit	P	Und	Act
		(passive)		

First, the box 1 functions are rotated over the box 4 functions so that Bill is referent-site in 71 but subject-site in 73; and John is subject-actor in 71 but adjunct-actor in 73 and is obligatorily marked with the preposition by. Secondly, this rotation is registered in the verb, the active give of 71 being replaced by the passive was given in 73. Thirdly, the passive derivation puts the derived clause 73 within the range of actor deletion, a derivation possibility not available to 71. Thus 74 is possible where 75 is in general not possible.

75. *Gave Bill a book.

The actor deletion itself, however, is non-contrastive since it involves only the exercise of a plus-minus option within the derived passive clause.

Due to the complexity of the derivational system in Kham, we will consider only the contrastive derivations of Kham and only those in which the derivations link what we now view as independent clauses. We have not yet studied in detail those subordinating derivations resulting in nominalization, adjectivalization, adverbialization, and the like. Such derivations have consequently been left out of consideration. The material for this illustration was supplied by David Watters and may also be found in a rather different form in the derivation section of his paper, Clause patterns in Kham, which appears later in this part. Since the completion of that paper, a more compact representation of constraints on derivational histories has been devised by Mr. C. M. Bandhu working in collaboration with the writer, and it is that representation rather than the tree representation used in Watters' paper that we employ for the purposes of this illustration. This more compact representation takes the form of a cyclical matrix as shown in

	BT	T	ST	I	BR	R	SR	E	BS	S	SS	D	BA	A	SA	C	aBR	aR	aSR	aE	
a. nUd														C							a
b. Ur														SA							b
c. Ev1										T		I	BR	R	SR	E					c
d. sx-			BT	T	BT	T		aE													d
e. Ev2										T		I	BR	R	SR	E					e
f. Att													BA	A	SA	C					f
g. Ev3													*BR	*R	*SR	*E					g
h. ACv													*BT	*T		*aE					h
i. Itv	ST	I																			i
j. Bf	BT	BT																		aSR	j
k. Cv	BT	BT	BT	BT																	k
l. Pm	BT	BT	BT	BT																	l
m. Dm	S	S	S	S																	m
n. Obl	R	R	R	R																	n
o. Hab	BS	S	SS	D	BA	A															o
p. R	BR	R																			p
q. Stv	BS	S	SS	D	BA	A	SA	C											*aSA	aC	q
r. aR/gP	aBR	aR	aSR	aE					*BA	*A	*SA	*C									r
s. RUd/gP					SR	E							*SA	*C			aSR	aE			s
t. Pv/dAc	pBT	pT	pST														BR	R	SR		t
u. pStv					*BA	*A	*SA														u
	BT	T	ST	I	BR	R	SR	E	BS	S	SS	D	BA	A	SA	C	aBR	aR	aSR	aE	

Figure 8. Constraints on clause derivations in Kham. Asterisked types are exceptional. A given rule may apply only if allowed by conditions in Figure 9. A rule can apply only once in a given derivation. Rules are strictly ordered and must apply in alphabetical order with one exception: when rule m applies and when neither rules j, k, nor l have previously applied, any preceding rule can apply (following the application of m). Rules q, s, and u are automatically terminal. Rule n is designated terminal in Figure 9.

After rule	applies to	the following regular rules are blocked in the next cycle	the following exceptional rules are permitted in the next cycle
c	D or S	rules j through n, rule p, and rules t through u	
d	E	rule j	
f	any type		rules g and h
j	any type	rules k and l	
j	aE	rule t	rule q
k	any type	rules l and m	
l	any type	rule m	
m	ST or I	rule s is blocked in any following cycle	
n	any type	all rules	
o	BR or R		rule s
o	BT, T, ST or I		rule r
p	BT or T		rule u
r	BA or A		rule s
s	aSR	rule t	
t	aBR, aR or aSR		rule u

Figure 9. Constraints on successive cycles through derivations charted in Figure 8.

Figures 8 and 9 are productive of derivational histories of well-formed independent clauses in Kham. The abbreviations in the left-hand column of Figure 8 designate rules which may apply in the contrastive derivation of derived clause types from inherent clause types. Along the top and bottom of Figure 8 are input clause types. Clause types enclosed in boxes are not inherent types and can be reached only by way of derivation from an inherent type. The rules label rows in Figure 8 and the input clause types label columns, which intersect with the rows forming cells. Certain of these cells are empty, indicating that the rule which names the row involved cannot apply to the input type which names the column. Where a cell is filled with a non-asterisked form, what is indicated is that the rule which names the row is allowed to apply to the input type that names the column. The label in the cell gives the derived type which results from such a derivation. Asterisked labels are exceptional and the rules involved apply to the input types involved only under special conditions listed in Figure 9. Certain sequences of regular rules are prohibited under special conditions listed in Figure 9.

The use of Figures 8 and 9 in the generation of a derivational history is probably best explained by means of a sample derivation. We start with a basic member of some inherent clause pattern. Suppose we start with a basic Attributive clause such as that given in 76.

76. A bxhres mwin.-zya.
S P
Und P
bread warm-present state
The bread is warm.

Example 76 is well formed and may stand without further derivation. Any derivation which applies to it is optional. The initial input clause, 76, is Attributive. We are thus allowed to enter Figure 8 at column A. Any rule naming a cell in column A which contains a non-asterisked form can now apply to 76. In Figure 8 we see that the cells named by rules g and h have asterisked entries. From Figure 9 we may determine that rules g and h can apply to an Attributive clause only after rule f has applied. Since no rules at all have as yet applied to 76, g and h cannot apply on this cycle. Rule s is likewise prohibited, since the prior application of rule r is required. Suppose we apply rule c, Eventivization 1, to clause 76. The result of the application of this rule is given in 77.

77. (Ac)R bxhres mwin.-ke.
S P
Und P
bread warm-past event
The bread warmed up.

For a description of the rules see Watters' paper. Example 77 is a well-formed clause in Kham and the derivation may end at this point. The entry (Ac)R is an index to the derivational history of 77. It says that 77 derives from an inherent Attributive clause by way of rule c and is now a derived Receptive clause.

Having applied rule c we must leave Figure 8, and the first cycle of derivation is complete. If we wish to continue the derivation we now check Figure 9 to determine what constraints the application of rule c has imposed upon the application of rules in the next cycle. No constraints or special permissions are associated with an application of rule c to an input A, so we may move back to Figure 8 and re-enter at column R. We are free to apply the rule for any cell in column R which contains a nonasterisked form. Suppose we elect to apply rule d, which is a transitivizing rule involving the affix sx-. The application of this rule to 77 results in 78.

78.	(Acd)T	nga:	bxhres	nga-sx-mwin.-ke
		S	O	P
		Act	Und	P
		I	bread	I-transitive-warm-past event
		I warmed the bread.		

Example 78 is well formed. The derivation can end at this point. It will have been noticed that the derivations involved in the approach are semantically as well as syntactically operative. They clearly change meaning. In a grammar that widely separates semantic and syntactic portions of the generative process, keeping form and meaning together can present formidable problems. In the approach under consideration here, however, the usual objection to derivations with semantic effect is not really relevant. The nine-box tagmeme carries with it both form and meaning so that a change in both can economically be made at a single point in the derivation. No severe cross-referencing problem exists between the syntactic and the semantic portions of the derivation. In 78, for example, the transitivizer rule sx- added a first person actor. It added not only the form nga: but also its full sememic representation (only part of which is given here). It also added the required pronominal agreement on the verb form. The rule could in principle have picked any actor as subject at this point.

Having applied rule d, we again leave Figure 8 and the second cycle of derivation is complete. On checking Figure 9, we find no relevant constraints or special permissions for rule application on the next cycle, so we proceed to re-enter Figure 8 at column T. Column T has no asterisked entries so the rule for any labeled cell can be applied. Suppose we elect to apply rule j, the benefactive rule. A possible result of the application of rule j to 78 is given in 79.

79.	(Acdj)BT	nga:	nolay	bxhres	sx-mwin.-dx	nga-e-ke.
		S	R	O		P
		Act	Sit	Und		P
		I	for him	bread	transitive- warm-nonfinite	I-give-past event
		I warmed the bread for him.				

Example 79 is a well-formed clause in Kham and the derivation is free to terminate at this point.

If we continue the derivation, we will see from Figure 9 that the application of rule j has now blocked the application of rules k and l in the next cycle. Re-entering Figure 8 at column BT, we note the constraint that in general the rules in a derivational history in Kham must apply in alphabetical order. The listed exception does not cover the current derivation; thus rule i cannot apply to 79 because rule j has already applied. A violation of alphabetical order in the application of rules in the derivational history is allowed only in case the last rule applied was rule m and the rule before last was neither j nor k nor l. Since j has applied in the derivation of 79, no exception will be made even if rule m were applied in the current cycle. Suppose we do allow rule m to apply. The effect of the rule is to introduce a modal of desire as is shown in 80.

80. (Acdjm)S	nga:	nolay	bxhres	sx-mwin.-dx	e-o
	S	R	O		
	Act	Sit	Und		
	I	for him	bread	transitive- warm- nonfinite	give- nonfinite

nga-pxyn.-zya
P
P
I-want-present state
I want to warm the bread for him.

Example 80 is well formed. The derivation is free to terminate. In the event that further derivation is desired, we consult Figure 9. We discover no new constraints or permissions and are thus free to reenter Figure 8 at column S. Since retracing through the alphabet is now prohibited, neither rule c nor rule e can apply. Since Figure 9 has not given special permission, asterisk blocks the application of rule r. The derivation is therefore terminated.

Having illustrated how Figure 8 and Figure 9 are to be interpreted, we may turn to the question of what such a representation of derivational patterning shows about contrast between clause patterns. For one thing, it should be clear that in Kham contrastive derivation radically effects the applicability of later rules in the derivation. A derived BiTransitive clause, for example, has precisely the same derivational potential as an inherent BiTransitive clause provided that no rule later than rule h has applied in its derivational history. In this sense, the fact that no two columns in Figure 8 are alike is strong evidence for contrast not only among inherent types but among their derived descendents as well.

Another way of viewing contrast in terms of Figure 8 is to look at rules which apply uniquely to certain types. Rules a and b, for example, can apply only to an inherent Attributive clause. Cycling constraints effectively prohibit these rules from applying to derived Attributive clauses. An inherent Attributive clause, once derived as (Acd)T, however, can participate in the whole set of derivations available to any Transitive clause. The set of Transitive derivations is thus a proper subset of the set of Attributive derivations in Kham. Nonetheless, at every point in this overlapping derivational pattern the derivatives of A and those of T will be overtly marked as inherently contrastive by virtue of the fact that rules will have applied in the derivational history of derivatives of A that have not applied in that of derivatives of T. This can be illustrated as follows:

78. (Acd)T nga: bxhres nga-sx-mwin.-ke
S 0 P
Act Und P
I bread I-transitive-warm-past event
I warmed the bread.

81. T nga: zihm nga-jxy-ke
S 0 P
Act Und P
I house I-build-past event
I built a house.

The difference between the inherent and the derived T is clearly marked by the fact that the derived T has the transitivizing prefix sx- where the inherent transitive lacks this suffix.[10]

III. DISCOURSE: APPROACHES TO THE STRUCTURE OF SPEECH ACTS.

Discourse structures are not yet as accessible to systematization as are clause structures. Nevertheless, a number of approaches to the study of discourse were made during the course of the workshop.

A notational approach. Appropriate notational conventions are of great practical importance at all stages of linguistic analysis. Approaching the structure of text from the point of view of hierarchy and the nine-box tagmeme, Schottelndreyer and Pike have given an example of both linear and tree representations of text. The fact that many questions of analysis had to be left open may be interpreted as evidence of the value of the approach. The questions which the notational scheme raises are central to any analysis of text and can be taken as a beginning strategy in approaching discourse structure. A sample of this approach can be seen in Burkhard Schottelndreyer and Kenneth Pike, Notation for simultaneous representation of grammatical and sememic components in connected discourse, in this part.

An experimental approach. Evidence for the reality of paragraph structure in the early stages of analysis is often difficult to obtain. Pike and Schottelndreyer have developed a technique that promises to make one aspect of the evidence more accessible to early analysis. If paragraphs have reality, one would suppose that a text could survive only so much sentence permutation before losing its coherence. After a certain amount of permutation of sentences, the mechanisms of a language which compensate for such changes of order can no longer compensate for the skewing of grammatical sequence with respect to sememic sequence. Narratives, for example, are usually given coherence in terms of the relationship of discourse elements to a chronological chain of events. When an event is told out of sequence, this fact must be overtly signalled in some way if both coherence and the meaning of the message are to be preserved. In experimenting with sentence permutation within texts, Pike and Schottelndreyer found that certain points in a text were highly resistant to successive permutations while other stretches were not. These resistant points correlated closely to what would intuitively be chosen as paragraph boundaries. An account of this approach may be found in Kenneth Pike and Burkhard Schottelndreyer, Paired-sentence reversals in the discovery of underlying and surface structures in Sherpa discourse, in this part.

Speech acts: goals to achieve with words. A third approach represents an attempt to identify major functional components of discourse. This approach builds to a large extent upon Grimes, 1972.

We start by assuming that an understanding of the speech act is basic to an understanding of language use. We assume that there are linguistically describable regularities that help characterize the difference in any given language between an effective speech act and an ineffective one. We have found it helpful in coming to an understanding of discourse structure in various languages to assume that there are certain things one can do with words. One can decide to impart information, to elicit information, to convey a command, to express a wish, to give advice, to promise something, or to perform any one of a number of other speech acts. If one is to accomplish any such speech act one must in some way make it clear to his hearers what speech act he is engaging in. If a speaker attempts to impart information while his hearers are under the impression that he is expressing a wish or giving advice, communication will fail even though the hearer may have understood every word. If a speaker attempts to convey a command and his hearers are under the impression that he is eliciting information, the speech act will be ineffective, and communication will have failed. We assume, then, that there are clues which enable hearers to identify speech acts correctly and that these clues are accessible to linguistic analysis. The fruitfulness of this assumption has begun to be apparent both in the study of Sunwar and of Tharu Bhojpuri.

Topic-development types: strategies for acting with words. Given the choice and identification of a speech act, one is free to choose a topic and a development type. There are certain ready-made strategies for each language in terms of which topics are developed. We assume that for any given speech act there are constraints on the choice of strategies for development, though these constraints are certainly not unique pairings. If one were to characterize a given development type in English, for example, as consisting of a string of rhetorical questions followed by a string of imperatives, one might immediately visualize a hortatory speech act such as the following one:

82. What do you mean by taking my ruler? Don't you know that I need it? Next time ask permission when you take it and put it back when you're finished.

On the other hand, a superficially very similar development type can be used to inform:

83. So you want to know how to get to Kathmandu from here, do you? Well, go down this road until you come to the bus stop. Then take the next left. Go down the hill. Do you see a red gate at the bottom of the hill? When you do, turn left...

One could distinguish the two in terms of the kinds of imperatives involved. Example 82 has real imperatives where Example 83 has rhetorical imperatives. Nevertheless we do not assume any one-to-one relationship between speech acts and development types, any more than we assume unique pairings of sentence level mood with speech act. There do appear to be constraints on such pairings. It is not immediately obvious, for example, how one could use the general development type of 82 or 83 to pronounce a blessing in English.

Effectiveness conditions: coherence. We assume, furthermore, that there are at least three kinds of effectiveness conditions on any given development type. We will refer to these as coherence conditions, significance conditions, and background conditions. How these conditions are met depends to some extent upon the development type chosen. If one chooses to impart information (or entertain) and chooses a narrative development of some topic to do so, coherence constraints are met or not depending upon whether there is a sequence of events which is coherent in time, in place, and to some extent with respect to the participants involved. Such a sequence, which guarantees coherence, we refer to as the backbone of a given development type.

Different development types may be distinguished according to differences in coherence constraints, that is, in terms of differences among the characteristics of their backbones. One may, for example, contrast the narrative development with its constraints on coherence of temporal sequence, local sequence, and cast with the hortatory development in which time and place may play no essential coherence role, but in which coherence is attained by a hortatory development of a series of related points where the role of the hearer as prospective performer in the cast is constant.

It is usually the case that there is material other than backbone material in any given monologue. In a narrative, one may describe the setting, introduce the participants, inject editorial comments at various points, relate various backstage developments, various subjective and cognitive experiences that do not form part of the chain of events that constitutes the backbone. If the monologue is to be perceived as coherent, the backbone must be distinguished in some way from these other elements. We assume that there are clues which enable hearers to identify the backbone and to distinguish it from other material in the monologue. The fruitfulness of this assumption is beginning to show in the analysis of Sunwar discourse.

Effectiveness conditions: significance. We have mentioned three kinds of effectiveness conditions, those relating to *coherence*, those relating to *significance*, and those relating to required *background*. A narrative can be coherent and pointless. Labov and Waletzky, 1967, have linked significance to evaluative statements in narrations of personal experience. Our guess is that any kind of monologue can be either pointless or significant and that the difference between pointlessness and significance can be at least partly determined by the presence or absence of materials analogous to evaluative material in the narration of personal experience, and that these materials will relate closely to the speech act or to the purpose of the monologue. What elicited the evaluative material in Labov's interviews was a challenge, implicit or explicit, to demonstrate the seriousness of an incident. This represented a kind of complication or provocation that the evaluative material answered. We expect, then, to find that significance is related to a line of tension that runs between a complication, problem, or provocation of one sort or another which occurs either prior to or at the beginning of a monologue, on the one hand, and a climax, resolution, solution, evaluation or the like that answers to it, resolving the tension, releasing the hearer, and signalling the beginning of the end of the monologue on the other. We assume that there are clues which enable hearers to identify material of this sort and thus to be able to distinguish it from the backbone. We refer to material which is directly related to the point of the monologue in this way as the *focal content* of the monologue. The usefulness of these assumptions are also indicated in the Sunwar materials.

Effectiveness conditions: background. A narrative can be coherent and significant and yet a given audience may fail to grasp the coherence or appreciate the significance of the narrative due to gaps in background. Material which insures that a given audience will follow a monologue and get the point, but which itself is neither backbone nor focal content, we refer to as *tributary material*. Tributary material performs many specific functions and is a candidate for considerable sub-classification. What constitutes tributary material in any given monologue, however, appears to depend crucially upon the speech act and possibly upon the development type in which it occurs. Material which identifies the setting or which introduces and describes the cast may well be tributary in an event narrative. In a travel narrative, indications of time and place may form an important part of the backbone. In a character study, the development of cast may be part of the backbone. One cannot easily assume that any given type of material will always function as tributary material, but it does seem likely that for any given speech act there will be material that performs the function of insuring that the intended audience has the background to appreciate the coherence and significance of that speech act. A converse study could also be made. Minority languages are often employed as secret languages to exclude all but the intended audience, Newars claim that it is relatively easy to exclude non-native speakers of Newari, otherwise fluent in the language, whenever desired. The strategic omission of background material not required undoubtedly plays an important role in this particular use of language.

For a specific application of these assumptions to the study of discourse in a particular language, see Dora Bieri and Marlene Schulze, An approach to discourse in Sunwar, in this part.

Sentence patterns and where they fit. Dora Bieri, after a considerable portion of the paper she was working on with Marlene Schulze had been completed, conducted an interesting experiment in Sunwar in order to get some idea of the importance of complex sentence structure to Sunwar discourse. She took a number of independent clauses with the result that the monologues were rendered highly ineffective. What was the reason for this? In Sunwar the identification of paragraph type is often marked in the initial subordinate clause of the paragraph. A monologue-initial subordinate clause can often be used to identify the entire speech act, just as in English the use of the formula 'once upon a time. ..' prepares the hearer for a fairy tale. A number of these markers are expressible in Sunwar only in subordinate clauses, since they occur in mutually exclusive distribution with the finite endings on verbs that are required in independent clauses. Thus in many cases paragraph types cannot be identified if discourse is restricted to simple independent clauses.

In Sunwar there is extensive use of chaining (He went to the market. Having gone to the market...). At certain points the presence or absence of chaining and the type of chaining used are crucial clues to the identity of the speech act and consequently of the backbone. Chaining of this sort required complex sentence structure. Sentence, as a level in Sunwar distinct from either paragraph or clause, is, for this kind of reason, not at all difficult to maintain.

For a brief study of the use of subordinate clauses as discourse links, see Marlene Schulze and Dora Bieri, Chaining and spotlighting: two types of paragraph boundaries in Sunwar. For more detailed studies of sentence structure without specific reference to discourse function, see Maria Hari, Tentative systemic organization of Nepali sentences, and Alice Davis, Maithili sentences, in this part. For further discussion of the considerations which guided the research of Hari and Davis, see Ronald Trail, 1973.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This paper grows out of a workshop held in Nepal during the academic year 1971-72 under the project direction of Kenneth L. Pike. Had it not been for the stimulation and encouragement of Kenneth and Evelyn Pike, the development which this paper sketches out would never have taken place. It should not be assumed, however, that they would agree with everything presented in this paper. The writer also wishes to express his appreciation to the following individuals for stimulating comments and supporting data: David Watters (Kham), Burkhard Schottelndreyer (Sherpa), Ross Caughley (Chepang), Dora Bieri and Marlene Schulze (Sunwar), Doreen Taylor (Tamang), Gary Shepherd (Magar), Chura Mani Bandhu (Nepali), Thakurlal Manandhar (Newari), Uwe Gustafsson (Kotia), Jennifer Williams and Alice Davis (Maithili), Esther Strahm (Jirel), Kent Gordon (Dhangar), and Ronald L. Trail. Of these languages, Kotia is a language of India. All the others are spoken in Nepal.

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[2] Pike (1964a, 1964b) has discussed these basic characteristics. We attempt to summarize them briefly here, though in a slightly different order. The characteristics come in four sets. The first set, UNIT, embodies the claim that the ability to segment reality into units is an invariant that underlies all of human experience. Rational communication would be impossible if it were not possible to segment experience into events and entities which can be remembered and referred to. Rational communication would be equally impossible were it not possible for a speaker to distinguish one phoneme of his language from another. For a unit to exist or be well described, it must be possible to say how it differs from other units (contrast: feature mode), how it is variously manifested (variation: manifestation mode), and how it is distributed (distribution: distribution mode) in regard to class membership, in regard to function in a sequence, and in regard to relationship to its total context.

A second set, HIERARCHY, embodies the claim that the ability to produce and understand messages that are simultaneously structured in at least three different ways is an invariant condition upon all rational human communication. In face-to-face communication, messages typically have Phonological, Grammatical, and Sememic structures, none of which are entirely reducible to either of the other two. (In this respect Tagmemics stands closer to the standard theory of Chomsky, 1965 than to Generative Semantics.) If one were to remove any one of these three sets of constraints, say, on spoken English, rational human communication would no longer be possible by means of the resultant linguistic system.

A third set, CONTEXT, embodies the claim that if language were totally divorced from its non-linguistic context, whether social or physical, rational human communication would fail. (In insisting that a description of context belongs in principle to a description of language, Tagmemics is far closer to Generative Semantics than it is to the standard theory.) This set also includes three sub-characteristics. There is no form without meaning and without form there is no meaning (Form-Meaning Composite). Linguistic entities influence one another only if they share a feature or some point of contact (Shared Components as a Bridge for Change). The interpretation of linguistic form depends upon linguistic and social context (Universe of Discourse). If forms had no meaning or if meanings lacked forms for their expression; if non-contiguous linguistic elements effected variation in other linguistic elements with arbitrary relative distributions; if social or linguistic context were not available in the interpretation of linguistic form; or if linguistic form could in principle not be interpreted in the light of either linguistic or non-linguistic context, then rational human communication as we know it would fail.

A fourth set, PERSPECTIVE, embodies the claim that there are three perspectives required both for rational human communication and for its description. No single perspective allows all the relevant regularities to be stated. The three perspectives are Particle, Wave, and Field. Without particle one could not choose to view anything as a unit. Without the particle perspective no description could be made of units such as phonemes, morphemes, or idioms. Without wave one could not choose to view a sequence of units as a string or conveive of a process or the path of a moving object. No description of sequences would be possible. Without field, one could make no use of context, of feature composition, of taxonomy, and a description of such things as paradigms would not be possible.

Each of the perspectives has a normal pairing with one of the other three sets. The perspective normal to units is that of particle. The perspective normal to hierarchy is that of wave. The perspective normal to context is that of field. One can, however, choose a non-normal perspective in each of these cases.

A noun may be viewed as a unit in contrast with other nouns, having its own set of phonetic representations, its own limited distribution, its own meaning. A noun may change over time or undergo phonological contraction in a sequence, facts which indicate our ability to view it as a wave. A noun has a paradigm, it has a feature composition isomorphic to its location in the various taxonomies in which it participates, it is defined partly in terms of complex contextual relations which indicate our ability to view it as a field. The human ability to shift perspective is crucial to rational human communication.

Consider also the following:

a) The house collapsed.
b) The house was a battlefield strewn with bottle tops.
c) He bought the house.

In a) it is necessary to understand *house* as wave. If *house* could not be understood in this way the sentence would be nonsense since once the house has collapsed it is no longer a house but a ruin. As a wave we can have a collapsed house or a house that was torn down last year. With *house* as a particle only, such collocations are anomalous. In b) it is necessary to understand *house* as a field, otherwise it is impossible to grasp the idea that *house* is focussed upon as a context for the distribution of bottle tops. In c) we need to be able to understand *house* as a unit.

[3] The following come immediately to mind as examples of Tagmemic presentation devices. The matrix material of K. L. Pike, 1965; of Pike and Jacobs, 1968; of Pike and Lowe, 1969; and of Lowe, 1969.

[4] Limitations of domain required for such study are not given in Tagmemic theory but result from the primary interest of the investigator. Tagmemics sees no rigid boundaries in terms of which linguistics can be fenced off from other disciplines.

[5] See especially Pike, 1972; Klammer, 1971; and Wise, 1971. Our presentation of the nine-box tagmeme grows out of recent work of Pike.

[6] This can be illustrated in terms of a tentative analysis of *yesterday* in the following two examples:

a) Yesterday he went to find his brother.
b) Yesterday was a rainy day.

In a) *yesterday* is peripheral, does not subcategorize the verb, and shows considerable redundancy among the representations in boxes 1, 2, and 5.

Time Adjunct	Time Adverb	Yesterday
	+ abstract + time	

We have left box 4 blank since we have not yet approached the problem of box 4 entries for peripheral items in any systematic way. Presumably its function is to mark time setting. It may well be that peripheral items are derived by sentence demotion. Example a) may come from a sequence something like c).

c) It was yesterday. He went to find his brother.

If such derivations can be maintained, we will need to come to some explicit understanding of how such derivations assign values to the resultant derived tagmemes. It may be that the redundance which is characteristic of peripheral tagmemes is a result of the operation of demotion rules that have applied in their derivation. In b), *yesterday* is nuclear and shows much less redundancy.

Subject Theme	Noun	Yesterday
Undergoer	+ abstract + time	

[7] See Fillmore, 1968:24. Animateness is typical of Agentive and Dative. Inanimateness is typical of Instrumental. In Fillmore, 1971: 251, there is a hint that Fillmore has somewhat revised his own views of the relevance of animateness specifications for cases, though the continued existence of cases like Experiencer seems to indicate that we still have cases typically marked for animateness within case grammar.

[8] The following is a more difficult example:

a) They called him Bill.

Our tentative analysis is that *him* is a site and *Bill* is the undergoer. Example a) would then form an exception to the normal surface mapping rules for goal-site since b) is not allowed, at least not as a version of a).

b) *They called Bill to him.

Another example points to the desirability of recognizing complex lexical sources for certain verbs.

c) They named him Bill.

Example c) may well come from something like d).

d) They gave him the name Bill.

where *him* is goal-site, and *the name Bill* is an appositional construction which functions as undergoer.

[9] We may eventually wish to say that the actor in 66 is also the undergoer. In that case, what Example 66 shows is that the clause pattern allows no independent undergoer in addition to the actor. This may be a general characteristic of Intransitive and SemiTransitive clauses.

[10] For a more extensive sample of Kham clause derivations, see David Watters, Clause patterns in Kham, in this part. For a more extensively illustrated chart of derivational histories such as that given in Figures 8 and 9, see C. M. Bandhu, Clause patterns in Nepali, in part II of this volume.

Clause Patterns in Dhangar-Kurux

Kent H. Gordon

A. Introduction.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, to provide some materials on the Kurux language as spoken by the Dhangar people of Morang and Sunsari Districts of Kosi Zone in southeastern Nepal, and second, to present these materials in such a way that they may be useful for grammatical comparision across languages of the Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Munda, and Tibeto-Burman families. Dhangar-Kurux is a Dravidian language of the North-Dravidian branch which exhibits pervasively the affects of large-scale diffusion of Indo-Aryan structural traits. And while evidence for such diffusion across genetic boundaries from Indo-Aryan into Dravidian can be readily observed at many points in the data considered here, it also appears that Munda and Tibeto-Burman may have formed part of the network within which this large-scale diffusion took place.

The analysis of Dhangar-Kurux clause patterns reflected in this paper is incomplete and tentative. The section on inflected patterns has been omitted and requires considerably more work in order to show that evidence for contrast can be supplied from it to support conclusions reached elsewhere in this paper. The section on derived patterns is very brief and could be expanded considerably to display the derivation potentials of many other interesting verbs and subpatterns. We have not given any support for our conclusions regarding contrast from an analysis of dependent patterns. This deficiency constitutes a real weakness which we hope to remedy at a later time. Finally, the focus-marker system of Dhangar-Kurux is not fully understood and our analysis is therefore subject to revision at this point also.

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Morang District, Kosi Zone, Nepal. I am also indebted to the kind and hospitable residents of Bhokraha Village Panchayat of Sunsari District, Kosi Zone, Nepal for providing additional data and for serving informally as checkers of some of the data on which this analysis is based.

Dr. Kenneth L. Pike has provided the theoretical background and initial impetus in clause analysis. Representative of this background and impetus was the article jointly authored by us entitled "Preliminary technology to show emic relations between certain non-transitivity clause structures in Dhangar (Kurux, Nepal)," IJDL, Vol. I 1.56-79, 1972. Dr. Austin Hale has provided the specific approach to clause classification exemplified in this paper. Representative of this approach is his paper entitled "Syntactic matrices: an approach to descriptive comparability," presented at the XIth International Congress of Linguists (Bologna), August 28, 1972, to be published in the Proceedings of that Congress.

I have also profited from informal discussions with Mr. Uwe Gustafsson, Mr. and Mrs. (Helen) Norman McNair, Dr. Ronald Trail, Mr. David Watters, Miss Jennifer Williams, and Miss Frances Woods.

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I would also like to express appreciation to Andhra University, Waltair, India for hosting a linguistics seminar-workshop in January and February of 1972 during which part of the research for this paper was carried out.

Orthographic Conventions. Following is a brief summary of the phonology of Dhangar-Kurux accompanied by an index of orthographic equivalents. The index includes only those equivalents that differ graphically from the phonemic transcription. We have not completed the analysis of segmentals and supersegmentals; so the following is subject to change.

In addition to the segmental phonemes there are two supersegmentals, /length/ and /gemination/, which have as their domain the phonological-foot (a level of description above the syllable but below the word in the phonological hierarchy). The super-segmental /length/ occurs in native Dravidian words and in early borrowings from Indo-Aryan. It is perceived phonetically as length of vowel at the nucleus of foot-initial syllables. Similarly, /gemination/ occurs in native Dravidian words and in borrowings from Indo-Aryan. It is perceived as an indeterminacy of syllable boundary such that a single intervocalic consonant or, in the case of nasal plus honorganic voiced stop, consonant cluster, comprises the arresting margin of the first syllable and the releasing margin of the next. In monosyllabic feet it is perceived as a delayed release of the final consonant or homorganic cluster.

stops	vl	p	t	ṭ	c	k		
	asp	p^h	t^h	$ṭ^h$	c^h	k^h		
	vd	b	d	ḍ	j	g		
	asp	b^h	d^h	$ḍ^h$	j^h	g^h		
fricatives			s			x		
nasals		m	n			ŋ		
	asp	m^h	n^h			$ŋ^h$		
liquids			l	ṛ	r			
	asp		l^h	$ṛ^h$	r^h			
laryngeals							h	ʔ
glides		w			y			

Figure 1. Consonants in Dhangar-Kurux.

i u

e o

a

Figure 2. Vowels in native Kurux words and in early borrowings from Indo-Aryan.

i u

e o + /nasalization/

a ɑ

Figure 3. Superimposed vowel system.[1]

Figure 3 represents a relatively late development in the phonology of Dhangar-Kurux (we leave the terms 'early' and 'late' undefined). Due to pervasive borrowing from Indo-Aryan and concomitant social pressures a vowel system native to local varieties of Indo-Aryan speech has been superimposed on Kurux forcing a reinterpretation of /length/ as a segmental feature capable of occurring in non initial as well as initial syllables. Not only does the superimposed system force a reinterpretation of vowel quantity differences in terms of short versus long vowels but it also adds the back-central vowel /ɑ/ in some varieties of Dhangar-Kurux speech that differs significantly in quality from the front-central vowel /a/. Hence the contrast between [da:s] /da:s/ 'Das (caste name)' and [dɑ:s] /da:s/ 'ten.' We have not been able to investigate to date to what extent the superimposed vowel system takes over in relation to different varieties of speech (men's vesus women's speech, educated versus uneducated speech, etc.).

It is not yet clear to us whether or not the supersegmental /gemination/ requires reinterpretation as a segmental as a result of Indo-Aryan influence. A look at the consonant system outlined in Figure 1, however, does show that there has been massive influence on Kurux from Indo-Aryan as respects the consonant system in general: the aspirate series of consonants, /h/, /s/, and /w/ appear to have come from Indo-Aryan.

Following is an index of orthographic equivalents used in this paper to represent phonemes whose graphs are not accessible on standard typewriter keyboards:

/p^h, b^h, t^h, d^h, etc./	= ph, bh, th, dh, etc.
/ṭ, ḍ, ṛ, etc./	= T, D, R, etc.
/gemination/	= pp, tt, bb, dd, nd, nj, etc.
/non-gemination/	= t't, d'd, n'd, n'c, etc.
/ŋ/	= ng
/ʔ/	= ?
/ɑ/	= 6
/vowel length/	= ii, ee, aa, 66, oo, uu
/nasalized vowels/	= i:, e:, a:, etc.

Figure 4. Index of Orthographic Equivalents.

B. Basic Patterns.

1. The Contrastive System.

1.1 The Role Marker System in Dhangar-Kurux.

Contrastive clause patterns in Dhangar-Kurux are set up with reference to a scale of relative transitivity. Individual patterns are plotted on the scale on the basis of constituent role structure. Hence, the scale is indexed with reference to the patterned presence or absence of particular roles in various combinations. Three roles are conceived as primary to the transitivity system: Actor, Undergoer, and Site. If a given clause contains exponents of each of these roles it is assigned highest rank on the scale. If it contains none of these it is assigned lowest rank. It it contains two of these, in various combinations, it is assigned some intermediate rank.

Converting the scale into a matrix we get the following possible combinations:

		Site	Undergoer	Sit + Und
-Actor	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Di-Receptive
+Actor	Intransitive	Semi-Transitive	Transitive	Di-Transitive

Figure 3. The Transitivity Matrix displaying possible combinations of the primary roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site.

The cell labelled 'Eventive' occurs at the intersection of a row and a column where no primary roles are entailed. It therefore ranks lowest on the scale of transitivity. The cell labelled 'Di-Transitive' with all three roles intersecting, ranks highest on the scale. As the matrix implies, the primary roles possess different transitivity values: the role of Actor outranks the roles of Undergoer and Site, and the role of Undergoer outranks the role of Site. This means, for example, that an Intransitive clause outranks a Direceptive clause, and that a Receptive clause outranks a SemiReceptive clause.

The cells defined by the intersections of the matrix contain labels that name the basic contrastive types that are allowed by the transitivity system (constrained as it is by a maximum threshhold setting of three rather than, say, four primary roles). Each cell gets its particular label from the number and kinds of roles manifested by a given pattern. Each role is defined in part by the kind of Predicate (verb ± complement) entailed in a given clause. Hence, the label in the cell contributes to the naming of the Predicate as well as to the naming of the clause pattern of which that Predicate constitutes the nucleus.

Primary roles are distinguished from secondary roles as those which contribute to the naming of the cells and sets of cells. Secondary roles appear to be satellites of primary roles and as such serve to help name the meanings of primary roles rather than the meanings of the cells themselves. Hence, in the clause 'Bill hit me with a hammer,' the instrument role entailed in the phrase 'with a hammer' is clearly secondary, serving in the main to help name the role-meaning of 'Bill' as Actor. It does not contribute directly to the naming of the meaning of the matrix cell as Transitive.

In relation to the 'case' grammar of Fillmore, our three primary roles correspond with three groups or classes of cases. Fillmore's Agent, Instrument (in part), and Experiencer (in part) form the class or part of the class of cases which we designate as Actor (potential Actor or Statant in the case of Experiencer). His Counter-Agent, Source, and Goal cases form the class or part of the class of cases which we designate as Site (Fillmore, 1970:116). The problem of overlap appears to arise because his Experiencer case corresponds to two primary roles: Actor (potential Actor or Statant) and Site. But the overlap is only apparent: Experiencers that are Actors are found to occur only in

Stative cell clauses of the Stative set; and Experiencers that are Sites are found to occur only in clauses of the Receptive and Attributive sets. Overlap is ruled out since the clauses in which the supposed overlap occurs are already shown to contrast by virtue of differing set memberships. (See Pike and Gordon 1972:66 for a discussion of how contrast at the level of sets of clause types precludes the need to show contrast across each individual clause type, or cell. In the same place there is also a discussion of the assumption underlying this approach—namely, that in clause analysis we may proceed hierarchically from cell to set.)

Certain information growing out of the organization of grammatical structures above the level of clause (for example, Sentence and Paragraph) leads us to posit a fundamental distinction between clauses that are *events* and clauses that are non-events—that is, *states*. Granted the validity of this distinction, the transitivity matrix given in Figure 5 becomes exactly doubled, as in Figure 6 below:

			Site	Undergoer	Sit + Und
State	-Statant	Circumstantial	Semi-Attributive	Attributive	Di-Attributive
	+Statant	Descriptive	Semi-Stative	Stative	Di-Stative
Event	-Actor	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Di-Receptive
	+Actor	Intransitive	Semi-Transitive	Transitive	Di-Transitive

Figure 6. Full Transitivity System.

The system defined by the matrix in Figure 6 contains four sets of clause patterns. Set 1, the Attributive set, consists of Circumstantial, SemiAttributive, Attributive, and DiAttributive patterns. Set 2, the Stative set, consists of Descriptive, SemiStative, Stative, and DiStative patterns. Set 3, the Receptive set, consists of Eventive, SemiReceptive, Receptive, and DiReceptive Patterns. And set 4, the Transitive set, consists of Intransitive, SemiTransitive, Transitive, and DiTransitive patterns.

In this paper we limit our discussion and analysis of the Dhangar-Kurux transitivity system to the *event* side of the matrix shown in Figure 6. We attempt to discuss the event side of the system in some detail. This system, as defined by systemic contrasts specific to Dhangar-Kurux, requires that we divide each of the event sets of patterns in half, as follows: the Receptive set is divided into Receptive and Receptive-Transitive subsets, and the Transitive set into Transitive and Transitive-Receptive subsets. This implies a similar division for state sets of patterns into Attributive and Attributive-Stative and into

Stative and Stative-Attributive subsets. These latter subsets will be brought into the presentation only as they occur in conjunction with the former in derived patterns (Section C).

The divisions into subsets on the event side of the transitivity system are ignored, for the most part, until Section B 2.1, General Contrasts.

We now show how the three primary roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site are marked in Dhangar-Kurux in relation to the event side of the transitivity system given in Figure 6.

1.11 Normal Role Markers in Dhangar-Kurux.

The correlation between markers and roles in Dhangar-Kurux is basic to the identification of contrastive clause patterns. Figures 7 through 10 summarize the normal role-marking system for the three primary roles. Cells in which a given role cannot occur (by definition of the transitivity system) are indicated by means of hyphens (---). Cells for which no appropriate example of a given role has been found to occur are indicated by means of empty parentheses. Roles that are unmarked or that are marked only indirectly via agreement patterns in the verb are labelled umk (=unmarked).

For the sake of space and readability the pronominal reference marked in the verb has not been translated in the morpheme-by-morpheme translation. In fact, for the same reasons, at many other points also the morpheme-by-morpheme translation is elided, and what has been given in its place is a word-by-word quasi-'free' translation.

In the examples given following each figure morpheme breaks are not indicated except for those that relate to role markers. An equal sign, =, is used to indicate postpositions. The lexical entries corresponding with the roles under consideration are underlined both in the vernacular and the English gloss. Where the role-marking is signalled only by agreement patterns in the verb, the agreement marker in the verb is also underlined. In the lefthand margin 'M' stands for 'marker' and 'R' for 'role.' Pseudo-Undergoers and pseudo-Sites are written as psUnd and psSit in both the examples and the figures.

Normal Actor Markers. Actors are unmarked except indirectly via a system of pronominal reference marked in the verb. Pronominal reference, or agreement, appears to be primarily a function of the focus-marker system and is discussed in the section so named (B-1.2) First, second, and third persons, masculine and feminine, singular and plural, are marked referentially in the verb with one exception: third person feminine singular. It is not so marked, the verb being conjugated as neuter, i.e., as lacking pronominal reference. Neuter verb forms are undifferentiated as to number as well as person.

E ---	SR ---	R ---	DR ---
E Umk	ST Umk	T Umk	DT Umk

Figure 7. Normal Actor Markers.

1) I maya bagge cii:xia
M baby Umk much Umk wept P
R Act Event
The baby (girl) wept a lot.

2) STR indr naraayn-as haTia kera-s
M Indra Narayan Umk market Umk went P
R Act Sit Event
Indra Narayan went to market.

3) T bijni enggan laawca
M Bijni Umk me Und struck P
R Act Und Event
Bijni struck me.

4) DT puni xeer-an gaRii=nu lacca
M Puni Umk chickens Und cart=on Sit loaded P
R Act Und Sit Event
Puni loaded the chickens on the ox-cart.

Normal Undergoer Markers. In basic patterns, Undergoers of the Attributive and Receptive sets are unmarked except indirectly via a system of pronominal reference in the verb.[2] Pronominal reference, or agreement, appears to be primarily a function of the focus-marker system which is discussed in Section B-1.12. As with Actors, first, second, and third persons, masculine and feminine, singular and plural, are marked in the verb, but with one exception: third person feminine singular. It is not so marked, the verb being conjugated as neuter--that is, as lacking pronominal reference. Neuter verb forms are undifferentiated as to number as well as person.

Marked Undergoers of the Transitive-set are manifested by nouns denoting 1) differentiated non-discrete handleable entities (= mass nouns), 2) differentiated discrete handleable entities (=count nouns), and 3) differentiated non-discrete non-handleable entities (=abstract nouns). Unmarked Undergoers of the Transitive-set are manifested by nouns denoting 4) undifferentiated non-discrete handleable entities (=mass nouns that are left indefinite by the speaker), 5) undifferentiated discrete handleable entities (=count nouns that are left indefinite by the speaker), 6) undifferentiated non-discrete non-handleable entities (=mass nouns that are left indefinite by the speaker), and 7) differentiated non-discrete handleable or non-handleable entities that are inalienably possessed by the Actor (= 'inalienably possessed' mass or abstract nouns). In general, 'differentiated' as used here means definite, and 'undifferentiated' means indefinite. With nouns denoting entities of class-7), the differentiation consists in the entity's being inalienably possessed, i.e., inalienable possession is a mark of definiteness.

Marked Undergoers of the Receptive-set are manifested by nouns denoting the same kinds of entities as defined in 1) and 2) above. (Marked Undergoers are restricted to the Receptive-Transitive-subset of Receptive-set clauses. See Section B-1.12 under Modified Undergoer Markers.) Unmarked Undergoers, i.e., those that are unmarked except indirectly via agreement patterns in the verb, are manifested by nouns denoting the same kinds of entities as defined in 1), 2), 3), 4), 5), 6), and 7) above.

From the standpoint of role structure, marked and unmarked Undergoers must be assigned to two different Undergoer-like roles only one of which functions as a countable Undergoer role in Dhangar-Kurux transitivity patterns. In general, marked Undergoers function as actual (countable) Undergoers (Und), and unmarked Undergoers as pseudo- (non-countable) Undergoers (psUnd). Pseudo-Undergoers in this paper are renamed as Predicate Extensions because they contribute in some way to the naming of the Predicate. But there are some notable exceptions to the general rule that marked Undergoers are (actual) Undergoers and unmarked Undergoers are pseudo-Undergoers (=Predicate extensions). On the one hand, (actual) Undergoers are manifested by nouns denoting entities defined under 1) and 2) above for marked Undergoers of the Transitive-set as well as for marked and unmarked Undergoers of the Receptive-set. But they are also manifested by nouns denoting entities defined under 7) above for unmarked undergoers of the Transitive and Receptive sets. (Clauses in which these unmarked but nevertheless (actual) Undergoers occur are assigned in this paper to the Transitive-Receptive-subset. See Section B-2 for discussion of the systemic contrasts between the Transitive and Transitive-Receptive subsets of Transitive-set clause patterns). On the other hand, pseudo-Undergoers (=Predicate Extensions) are manifested by nouns denoting entities defined under 4), 5), and 6) above for unmarked Undergoers of the Transitive and Receptive sets. But they are also manifested by nouns denoting entities defined under 3) above for marked Undergoers of the Transitive-set (correspondingly unmarked in the Receptive-set except for normal agreement marking in the verb).

We illustrate the difference between Undergoers and pseudo-Undergoers in the following sets of examples.

1a)	I	een	xess	xosskan
	M	I Umk	paddy Umk	reaped P
	R	Act	psUnd	Event
		I reaped paddy (yesterday).		

1b) T xeen xess-an xosskan
M I Umk paddy Und reaped P
R Act Und Event
I reaped the paddy.

2a) I een ghoRo xindkan
M I Umk horse Umk bought P
R Act psUnd Event
I bought a horse.

2b) T een manrupas=hi ghoRo-n xindkan
M I Umk Manrup's horse Und bought P
R Act Und Event
I bought Manrup's horse.

3a) TR een dahri khanDrkan
M I Umk beard Umk cut-rv P
R Act Und Event
I shaved.

3b) T een manrupas=hi dahri-n khanDkan
M I Umk Manrup's beard Und cut P
R Act Und Event
I shaved Manrup.

4a) E maaxa manja kera
M night Umk became P went
R psUnd Event
It has become night.

4b) R xoTTa panja kera
M bel Umk got ripe went P
R Und Event
The bel-fruit has gotten ripe.

5a) SR enggaage kiiRa laggia kera
M to me Sit hunger Umk got applied went P
R psSit psUnd Event
I am hungry.

5b) DR aasge xadd paayda manja
M to him Sit child Umk birth Umk becam
R psSit Und psUnd Event
A child was born to him.

In each set of examples above, the Undergoer is semantically definite and the pseudo-Undergoer is indefinite. In la for example, xess 'paddy' has no specific real-world referent such that it could be identified as the very paddy that een 'I' reaped. Rather, 'paddy's' real-world referent is the action denoted by the verb phrase xess xosskan, that action being 'paddy-cutting.' But in lb, xess-an is definite.

It is the very 'paddy' that 'I reaped.'

In Di-Transitive clauses with psSit, the Undergoer may be unmarked as in een mankhus-ge paysa cicckan (literally--I to Mankhu money gave) 'I gave money to Mankhu,' but it is nevertheless treated as an actual Undergoer. 'money' in the example is possessed--normally by the donor and is therefore semantically marked as definite even though unmarked for focus.

E ---	SR ---	R Umk	DR Umk
I ---	ST ---	T Und	DT Und

Figure 8. Normal Undergoer Markers.

1) R mankhu-s xardia-s
M Mankhu Umk got tired P
R Und Event
Mankhu got tired.

2) DR gaay thala=nu lasgia
M cow Umk mud=in Sit got embedded P
R Und Sit Event
The cow got stuck in the mud.

3) T bidulas xess-an xossas
M Bidul Umk paddy Und reaped P
R Act Und Event
Bidul reaped the paddy.

4) TR een cuTTi baag-r-kan
M I Umk hair Umk combed P
R Act Und Event
I combed my hair.

5) T een adi=hi cuTTi-n baagkan
M I Umk her hair Und combed P
R Act Und Event
I combed her hair.

6) DT aas huu Tangkii=nu injo-n sajjas
M he Umk that pond=in Sit fish Und put P
R Act Sit Und Event
He put the fish in that pond.

7)				
DTR*	cilga	xeexel=nu	bayy-an	ragdaa-r-a
M	jackal Umk	ground=in Sit	mouth Und	rubbed P
R	Act	Sit	Und	Event

The jackal rubbed its nose on the ground.

*The T and TR and the DT and DTR examples above belong to the T and DT cells respectively. Examples from subsets such as the T and TR and the DT and DTR will appear from time to time to illustrate role marking.

Normal Site Markers. We divide Site markers into two classes: 1) those that, in general, mark animate nouns, and 2) those that mark either animate or inanimate nouns. The first class of markers mark nouns or pronouns that are pseudo-Sites—that is, non-locative. The second class of markers mark nouns or pronouns that are true Sites (locative) if the nouns or pronouns denote concrete entities; alternatively, if the nouns or pronouns denote abstract entities, they mark pseudo-Sites.[3] Pseudo-Sites marked by class-2 markers differ from pseudo-Sites marked by class-1 markers in that the former are pseudo-locative while the latter are non-locative. Hence, whereas there are basically two kinds of markers, there are basically three kinds of Sites: locative, non-locative, and pseudo-locative.

Sites are normally marked in Dhangar-Kurux. Where they are left unmarked either, 1) the marking is optional, as with first and second person pseudo-Sites in certain clause patterns, 2) the Site entailed in the clause is goal-locative (obligatorily unmarked in Semi-Transitive clauses unless in addition to 'goal' another semantic (locative) component such as 'interior' is present, in which case it is marked), or 3) the Site entailed is manifested by a stem that is intrinsically locative in meaning.

In Figures 9 and 10, and in the examples following them, we have not given case-like meaning labels for the various markers, but generalized role-like labels: pseudo-Sites for non-locative Sites marked by class-1 markers, and Sites for locative Sites marked by class-2 markers. (Case-like labels will be given in Section B-3, where such labels are presented via the formulas as semantic features in box-5).

Sites in Dhangar-Kurux, display almost no potential for pronominal reference marking in the Predicate.

By comparing the examples following Figures 9 and 10 with the box-5 case labels of the formulas in Section B-3, it becomes apparent that not only do different Site-markers have different meanings, but that one and the same marker has different meanings as one proceeds from one set of cells to another, or from one cell to another of the same set in the transitivity system.

In Figure 9 we have not given examples of pseudo-Sites that are pseudo-locative, only of pseudo-Sites that are non-locative. Examples of pseudo-locative Sites are found elsewhere in this paper (in Section

B-1.2, for example).

E ---	SR psSit	R ---	DR psSit
I ---	ST psSit	T	DT psSit

Figure 9. Normal Pseudo-Site Markers (Class-1).

1) SR abRar=nu jhagRa manja kera
M them=in Sit quarrel Umk became went P
R psSit psUnd Event
They have gotten into a quarrel.

2) DR kherhaa-ge lakRa xakkhra
M to rabbit Sit tiger Umk got met P
R psSit Und Event
The rabbit met up with a tiger.

3) ST mankhus enggaa-ge kangk ondras
M Mankhu Umk to me Sit firewood Umk brought P
R Act psSit psUnd Event
Mankhu brought me some firewood.

4) DT mankhus paysan ciccas enggaa-ge
M Mankhu Umk money Und gave P to me Sit
R Act Und Event psSit
Mankhu returned the money to me.

E ---	SR ( )	R ---	DR Sit
I ---	ST Sit	T ---	DT Sit

Figure 10. Normal Site Markers (Class-2).

1) DR mankhus gaDDii=nu khattras
M Mankhu Umk ditch=in Sit fell P
R Und Sit Event

2) ST bijni ghoRo=nu argia
M Bijni Umk horse=on Sit climbed P
R Act Sit Event
Bijni mounted the horse.

3) DT banThus xeeran *bas=nu* laccas
M Banthu Umk chicken Und bus=on Sit loaded P
R Act Und Sit Event
Banthu loaded the chickens *onto the bus*.

A Note on Class-2 Site Markers. Site markers are morphologically postpositions that mark the following kinds of morphological classes and constructions: 1) free nominal stems, 2) free locative stems, 3) nominal or locative stems bound to preceding nominal stems via the construction marker *=hi* (alternating with *=ti*), and 4) locative stems bound to relative proximity prefixes *i-*, *hu-*, *a-*, and *e(ka)-*. The following are lists illustrating each of these classes or constructions accompanied by the class of postpositions that mark them. The lists are not exhaustive. Meanings given are only approximate: any given stem or construction plus or minus postposition acquires a case-like meaning that is constrained by the overall syntagmemic meaning of the specific clause pattern entailed. This means that the meaning of the form *i-yya*, for example, will be goal + internal + place in a Di-Transitive clause, but simply internal + place in a Stative or Di-Attributive clause. (For these case-like meanings of the various locative Sites see the labels in box-5 of the formulas in Section B-3.) Postpositions enclosed by parentheses are bound to the stems that precede them.

Free Nominal Stems	*Postposition*	*Meaning*
eRpa	=ma:yya	above the house
mann	=ki:yya	under the tree
baksa	=ula	inside the box
eRpa	=bhitri	inside the house
eRpa	=bahri	outside the house
mankhu(-s)	=hedde	near/with Mankhu
Thalli	=nu	on the branch
upendr(-as)	=gusan	at Upendra's (place)
amm	=gane	with water
xall	=tara	toward the fields
eRpa	=ti	from the house
Dahre	=guuTi	as far as the road

Free Locative Stems	*Postpositions*	*Meaning*
ma:yya (ma:yte-)	=ki	from above
ki:yya (ki:yte-)	=ki	from below
agu	=nu/=tara	ahead
xooxa	=nu/=tara	behind
ula	=ti	from inside
bhitri	=ti	from inside
bahri	=ti	from outside
hedde	=ti	from nearby
geccha	=ti	from a distance
majhi-	(=nu)	in the middle
bagal-	(=nu)	at the side
kuuTi-	(=nu)	at the end/edge

Free Locative Stems	Postpositions	Meaning
kaa:t-	(=nu)	at the edge
saamne-	(=nu)	opposite
cawgirda	=ti	from everywhere
pakkhe	=ti	from on (this, that) side

Nominal Stem	Marker	Stem	Postposition	Meaning
bupal(-as)	=hi	agu-	(=tara/etc.)	ahead of Bupal
eRpa	=hi	bagal-	(=nu/etc.)	at the side of the house
Dhaar	=hi	kaa:t-	(=nu/etc.)	at the edge of the river
dewaal	=hi	majhi-	(=nu/etc.)	between the walls
eRpa	=ti	bahri	---	
mann	=ti	xooxa-	(=tara/etc.)	behind the tree
		saamne-	(=nu/etc.)	
aas	=hi	xeDD-	=nu/etc.	on his foot
mann	=hi	Thalli	=ma:yya/etc.	on the branch of the tree

Prefix	Meaning
i-	near the speaker
hu-	near the addressee
a-	remote from speaker and addressee
e-(ka)	interrogative or relative

Loc Stem	Meaning
-san	place
-yya	internal
-jgu	direction
-ttra	path
-ste	source

Prefix + Loc Stem	Postposition	Meaning
isan	---	here
husan	---	there
asan	---	there
esan/eksan/esgan	---	where
iyya	=ti	from in here
huyya	=ti	from in there
ayya	=ti	from in there
ekayya	---	where
ijgu	=nu	this way
hujgu	=nu	that way
ajgu	=nu	that way
ekajgu	=nu	which way
ittra	---	this way
huttra	---	that way
attra	---	that way
ekattra	---	which way
iste	=ki	from here
huste	=ki	from there

Prefix + Loc Stem	Postposition	Meaning
aste	=ki	from there
este-/ekste	=ki	from where

The construction marker *=hi* of the third class of constructions with which Site markers occur has the meaning 'point in relation to which' while its alternate *=ti* means 'point in relation from which' (or simply, 'point from which'). In many instances, these markers are optional. In still others, they are obligatory. The conditions under which they may be omitted are not understood.

In general, locative stems may be said to contrast with nominal stems according to the following rule: locative stems when occurring as nucleii of constructions take the construction marker *=ta*; nominal stems when occurring as nucleii take the construction marker *=hi*. Compare the following phrases:

hedde=ta kacia	'the near sickle'
ula=ta/kuTTi	'the inside storage bin'
eRpa=hi bali	'the house's entrance'
mann=hi Thalli	'the branch of the tree'
meed=hi xocol	'the bone of the back (back-bone)'

Normal Role Markers in Verbs. There are no role markers in verbs in Dhangar-Kurux apart from the pronominal referentials discussed above in this section. For a fuller discussion of pronominal reference see Section B-1.2 The Focus Marker System.

1.12 Modified Role Markers.

Systemic modifications of the normal role-marking system are confined, for the most part, to the Receptive-Transitive and Transitive-Receptive subsets of event clauses. Non-systemic variations of the normal system, however, are found scattered through-out our data irrespective of the kind of patterns involved. Some of this variation appears to be the result of inter-dialectal diffusion.

Modified Actor Markers. None encountered in our data. If an Actor is present in a clause, it is invariably marked by cross-reference patterns in the verb (see Section B-1.21 Subject).

Modified Undergoer Markers. In Transitive-Receptive clauses the Undergoer may be unmarked (as has already been discussed in the previous section) even though it is manifested by a noun that, in context, is definite. For example:

```
T      een    dahri       khanDrkan
   M   I Umk  beard Umk   cut P
   R   Act    Und         Event
       I shaved my whiskers.
```

In Receptive-Transitive clauses the Undergoer is marked if the Actor (which cannot be made explicit) is a first person. This is a modification of the normal pattern in Receptive clauses in which the Undergoer is never marked except by pronominal reference in the verb. Compare the following examples:

1) R aa-s ca:yyas
M he Umk got wet P
R Und Event
He got wet.

2) RT mankhus-in laaw-r-a
M Mankhu Und got hit P
R Und Event
Mankhu got hit (by me).

In the second example the occurrence of -(i)n, the normal Undergoer marker, is a modification of the normal Receptive pattern in which Undergoers are marked only by pronominal cross-reference with the predicate. The function of -n in this clause is to indicate that the Undergoer 'Mankhu' has undergone a change of state that was instigated by a first-person Actor. The verbal infix -r- taken in conjunction with the normal focus auxiliary for this type of clause, namely kaala (past tense neuter singular kera) signals that the (first-person) Actor has been deleted and may not be made explicit. The normal syntax frame for this type of clause is een banThus-in law?a lakkan leekin mankhus-in laaw-r-a kera 'I was going to shoot Banthu but hit Mankhu instead.' (For further discussion of Receptive-Transitive clauses see Section B-2.)

Variation in the marking of Undergoers appears a few times in our data. In the main, such variation is conditioned by the existence of dialectal variants which have come to be used by one and the same speaker or group of speakers interchangeably and without concomitant meaning differences. Compare the following set of examples:

1) S sangngger-in asra eerdan een
M friends Und wait Umk I see P I Umk
R Und psUnd State Sta
I am waiting for my friends.

2) S sangngger=hi asra eerdan een
M friends-of wait Umk I see I Umk
R Und State Sta
I am waiting for my friends.

The construction marker =hi meaning, 'in relation to which,' is not an Undergoer marker but a marker of a construction relating a nominal or pronominal stem to another nominal or locative stem. In the above example, however, the nominal asra would normally require the Undergoer marker -n for it to be classed as an Undergoer. But asra in the second as well as the first example contributes to the naming of the Predicate, and as such does not qualify as an Undergoer. *sangngger*, 'friends,' while formally linked to *asra* via =*hi* in the second example, appears to qualify as a pseudo-Undergoer by virtue of the unambiguous Undergoer marking in the closely parallel first example.

Modified Site Markers. A few examples of modified Site-marking occur in our data. In these the Sites are marked for pronominal reference in the verb, not by the normal (pseudo-) Site marker -*ge*. This modification is restricted to clauses of the Receptive-Transitive subset.

DRT	*baTidaar-ar*	taamim	xessan	xaTT-r-a*r*
M	share-croppers Umk	selves Rv	paddy Und	got divided P
R	psSit	Rv	Und	Event

The share-croppers divided the paddy among themselves.

The function of this modification seems to be to indicate that the Actor, which has been deleted, is nonetheless specifiable as the same person as the Site. The reflexive pronoun *taan* (plural *taam* plus -(*i*)*m* 'emphatic focus') unambiguously signals that the Site is one and the same as the Actor, while the verbal infix -*r*- taken in conjunction with the normal focus auxiliary for this type of clause, namely *kaala* (past tense plural *kerar*) signals that the Actor has been deleted and cannot be made explicit. (Compare with the use of this same verbal infix in Transitive-Receptive clauses where the focus auxiliary *kaala* occurs quite restrictedly. See preceding discussion of modified Undergoer markers.)

There appears to be considerable variation in the choice of Site markers in expressing case relations in which no meaning difference can be traced. Compare the meaning of =*gane* with that of =*sangge* in the following examples:

1)	dDA	mankhus=hi	benja	*engghay=gane*	manjki	ra:i
	M	Mankhu's	betrothal Umk	my=with Sit	became	is P
	R	Und		PsSit	State	

I am betrothed to Mankhu.

2)	dDA	mankhus=hi	benja	*engghay=sangge*	manjki	ra?i
	M	Mankhu's	betrothal Umk	my=with Sit	became	is P
	R	Und		psSit	State	

I am betrothed to Mankhu.

1.2 The Focus Marker System in Dhangar-Kurux.

In this section we discuss grammatical focus (as distinct from grammatical role) under the following heads: 1) the marking of clause constituents, 2) the ordering of clause constituents, 3) the marking and ordering of clause constituents illustrated, and 4) Predicate as the center of grammatical focus. We do not discuss deletion of clause constituents except indirectly because, on the one hand, optional deletion is a function of the speaker's manipulation of the grammatical focus system to suit the requirements of the kind of discourse situation in which he finds himself (or puts himself), while obligatory deletion, on the other hand, is a function of the speaker's manipulation of the contrastive system of clause patterns constrained as it is by invariant role structures for each pattern in the inventory of his particular idiolect's transitivity system. Hence, obligatory deletion is dealt with in this paper in Sections B-2 and C, Systemic Contrasts and Derived Patterns, respectively.

The correlation of grammatical focus with grammatical role is not well understood. That is, whereas we can assign relatively clear 'meanings' to specific grammatical roles such as 'Actor,' 'Undergoer,' and 'Site,' we have not yet been able to assign any clear meaning to grammatical categories such as Subject, Object, Indirect Object, etc. (But see Watters, in Hale, 1973.)

1.21 Marking of Clause Constituents.

Grammatical focus has to do with the surface organization of roles into box-1 relational categories such as Subject (S), Object (O), Indirect Object (IO), Referent (R), Complement (C), Adjunct (A), and Predicate (P). (In this paper we do not discuss or illustrate the category of Adjunct: it corresponds with the roles which we label 'secondary' in contrast to the primary roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site.)

Subject. In Dhangar-Kurux Subjects are marked, in part, by pronominal reference in the verb. Even when not marked by pronominal reference in the verb (as with neuter and feminine singular Actors and Undergoers). Subjects are identifiable: the Subject and the Predicate (verb) are mutually unmarked. Hence, we may speak of marked versus unmarked cross-reference between the Subject and Predicate. In general we may say, then, that Subjects are always marked by cross-reference patterns in the Predicate, even though this way of stating it obscures the distinction between pronominal reference (marked) and no pronominal reference (unmarked).

Object. Objects are always marked by the nominal suffix *-n*. An object normally requires a Subject to be present in the same clause in which it appears (see Section B-1.12 for exception). Hence, when it shall be possible to assign a meaning to the focus category of Subject, it should be relatively easy to assign a meaning to Object as well, since it must be defined with reference to Subject.

Indirect Object. Indirect Objects are always marked, either by the suffix *-ge* or by means of distinctive (albeit unmarked) pronominal stems of the first and second persons. An instance of an Indirect Object being marked in the verb (but not by cross-reference) occurs in our data: the imperative form *ci?a* means 'give to a first person,' while the form *cil?a* means 'give to a third person.' For example:

enggaa-ge ci?a
Give (it) to me!

aas-ge cil?a
Give (it) to him!

This kind of marking is not equatable with pronominal reference marking: the -*l*- formative infix in *cil?a* is part of the (derived) stem, not part of the inflection as is the case with pronominal reference. (Semantically, *cil?a* may have had a semantic development such as, 'having taken, give.')

With some exceptions, Indirect Objects are accompanied by Subjects in the same clause. Exceptions are like the following (from the state side of the transitivity system):

1)	SA	*adi-ge*	meed=nu	ra?i
	F	to her IO	back=on R	is P
	R	psSit	psSit	State

She is pregnant.

2)	SA	*abRar=nu*	paT?i
	F	them=in IO	agree P
	R	psSit	State

They get along with each other.

Referent. Referents are generally marked by postposition (see Section B-1.1 under Normal Site Markers, for exceptions). With some exceptions, Subjects are present in the same clause. One such exception is the first example given under *Indirect Object*.

Complement. Complements are always unmarked and always require Subjects to be present in the same clause.

Predicate. Predicates are always marked, either by (non-focus) tense/aspect markers or pronominal reference markers, or by both. Tense/aspect is always marked in the Predicate while pronominal reference is limited to non-neuter (and non-feminine singular). Only Predicates are marked by the focus auxiliaries *ci?a*, *ho?a*, and *kaala* (see Section B-1.24).

The grammatical category of Subject, as has been mentioned, is marked by cross-reference patterns with the verb. Any one of the three primary (grammatical) roles may be marked as Subject via such cross-reference patterns. But whereas Actors of Transitive-set clauses and Undergoers of Receptive-set clauses are *normally* marked as Subjects in this way, Sites are marked as Subjects *only* in a few clauses of the Di-Receptive-Transitive cell (see Section B-1.1 under *Modified Site Markers*). (Normally, Sites are not marked as Subjects, and supporting this are a good many examples in our data of Subjectless clauses in which Sites occur marked either as Indirect Objects or Referents). An Actor, if present, is invariably marked as Subject. If no Actor is present, but an Undergoer is present, it is almost always marked as Subject. (Exceptions are restricted to the Receptive-Transitive cell (see Section B-1.1 under Modified Undergoer Markers) and a subclass of clauses belonging to the Attributive cell which are not discussed here.)

1.22 Ordering of Clause Constituents.

Clause constituents display normal order when no special (information) focus devices have applied. In Halliday's terms, 'unmarked focus' equates with 'normal order' as we use it here. Viewed as an 'information unit,' clauses are unmarked (that is, in normal order) if the full information unit consists of 'new' (as opposed to 'given') information. Clause constituents display modified order if the full information unit consists of both 'new' and 'given' information. Characteristically, a constituent occurs just before the verb if it contains new information, or in cases where the verb has been (optionally) deleted as a result of this same kind of focus device the new-information-bearing constituent occurs either by itself alone, or in first position in the clause. If a potential constituent bears given information, it occurs after the verb or before the new-information-bearing constituent(s), or—as is frequently the case—such a constituent does not occur at all: it gets deleted.

The normal order of constituents in Transitive set clauses may be formulated as S-IO-O-C-P, or alternatively as S-O-R-C-P, while the normal order in Receptive set clauses may be formulated as IO-S-C-P, or alternatively, S-R-C-P. In general, IO and R have mutually exclusive distributions (there are exceptions), and IO outranks R in order.

The selection of specific categories is determined by the (logically) prior selection of specific clause patterns. A Di-Transitive clause, for example, will be formulated +S+IO+O±C+P or +S+O+R±C+P, while an Intransitive clause will be formulated +S±C+P, and so forth. The plus sign means that each constituent so marked must be selected for the particular pattern chosen. The plus-or-minus sign means that the category of Complement need not be selected on the basis of pattern; to the contrary, the Complement is normally selected or not selected on the basis of the individual clause in which it forms one constituent. If the Complement is selected it is because the verb normally requires it to provide a semantic component which the verb by itself lacks, but which is necessary to complete the semantic requirements of the Predicate in its relation to the (primary) grammatical roles entailed in the clause. (Hence, our earlier definition of Predicate in relation to role structure as, 'verb ± complement' in Section B-1.1.)

When role orders are compared with focus orders of constituents it becomes apparent that role orders remain constant as we proceed from one set to another set in the transitivity matrix but that focus orders do not remain constant (see the illustrations below). This is because a single focus category, Subject, is used to mark Actors in Transitive set clauses, but Undergoers in Receptive set clauses, with the result that the position of Subject relative to other constituents in a clause may fluctuate between first and second depending on whether the clause is Di-Transitive or Di-Receptive.

It appears then that while the marking of clause constituents such as Subject and Object is a function of the focus system in Dhangar-Kurux, the normal (as opposed to modified) ordering of clause constituents is a function of the role system. Modified ordering of constituents is a function of special focus devices related to Discourse, Paragraph, and Sentence.

1.23 Marking and Ordering of Clause Constituents Illustrated.

The following examples are meant to illustrate how the focus markers operate as a semi-autonomous yet inter-dependent system with the role markers in Dhangar-Kurux. The examples do not exhaust the full range of marker and order combinations for each basic clause pattern but represent the most frequently occurring combinations. Markers are indicated by means of hyphens. Predicates will be hyphenated twice in most of the examples: the first hyphen precedes tense/aspect markers, and the second precedes the pronominal reference markers. All markers are underlined with the exception of the tense/aspect markers (which are not part of the normal focus marker system).

Eventive

	bijji-a	ker-a
F	dawned	went P
R	Event	

It has dawned.

	maaxa	manj-a ker-a
F	night S	became went P
R	psUnd	Event

It has become night.

Semi-Receptive

	tanggio	tambar=nu	jhagRa	manj-a ker-a
F	mother	father=in IO	quarrel S	became went P
	R	psSit	psUnd	Event

His parents have gotten into an argument.

Receptive

	mankhu-s	xardi-a-s
F	Mankhu S	got tired P
R	Und	Event

Mankhu got tired.

mira bimaar paraar-a ker-a
F Mira S sick C fell went P
R Und psUnd Event
Mira has fallen ill.

Di-Receptive

gaay thala=nu lasgi-a ker-a
F cow S mud=in R stuck went P
R Und Sit Event
The cow got stuck in the mud.

mankhus-ge xadd paayda manj-a
F to Mankhu IO child S birth C became P
R psSit Und psUnd Event
A child was born to Mankhu.

Intransitive

saanti cii:xi-a
F Santi S wept P
R Act Event
Santi wept.

huu-s coori manj-a-s
F He S theft C did P
R Act psUnd Event
He comitted a theft.

Semi-Transitive

naraayn-as haTia ker-a-s
F Narayan S market R went P
R Act Sit Event
Narayan went to market.

banThu-s neeTas=ma:yya ukki-a-s cicc-a-s
F Banthu S Nate=on sat P gave
R Act Sit Event
Banthu sat on top of Nate.

sukhru-s engghay guste=ki paysa hocc-a-s
F Sukhru S my with=from Sit money C took P
R Act psSit psUnd Event
Sukhru took money from me.

Transitive

een cuTTi baagr-k-an
F I S hair C combed P
R Act Und Event
I combed my hair.

bhuvan banThus-in laawc-a-g
F Bhuwan S Banthu O struck P
R Act Und Event
Bhuwan struck Banthu.

joo:x-ag pellar-in kankhi laawc-a-g
F youth S girls O eye C struck P
R Act Und psUnd Event
The fellow winked at the girls.

Di-Transitive

sukhru-g ningghay guste=ki paysa hocc-a-g
F Sukru S your with=from IO money O took P
R Act psSit Und Event
Sukru took the money from you.

ce-n saaylas-ge kicri cicc-k-an
F I S to Sayla IO clothes O gave P
R Act psSit Und Event
I gave clothing to Sayla.

mayabatti gol maric-an caay=nu sajj-a cicc-a
F Mayabatti S round pepper O tea=in R put gave P
R Act Und Sit Event
Mayabatti put the pepper in the tea.

1.24 Predicate as the Center of Grammatical Focus.

Predicates are either marked or unmarked in clauses manifesting normal focus order. In Transitive set clauses Predicates may be said to be centers of grammatical focus if they are marked by the auxiliaries ci?a, ho?a, or kaala (literally meaning 'come,' 'take,' and 'go'). Otherwise, they are not centers of grammatical focus, but give way to Subjects or Objects.[4] Compare the following sets of examples:

1a) I mankhus putras
F Mankhu S vomited P
R Act Event
Mankhu vomited.

1b) I mankhus putras ciccas
F Mankhu S vomited gave P
R Act Event
Mankhu vomited (it was unexpected).

2a) ST nirmala saanti=ma:yya uk'ia
F Nirmala S Santi=on R sat P
R Act Sit Event
Nirmala sat down on Santi.

2b) ST nirmala saanti=ma:yya ukkia cicca
F Nirmala S Santi=on sat gave P
R Act Sit Event
Nirmala sat down on top of Santi (it was unexpected).

2c) ST nirmala saanti=ma:yya ukkia le hocca
F Nirmala S Santi=on sat took P
R Act Sit Event
Nirmala sat down on top of Santi (it was unexpected; I, the speaker, didn't think she could do it).

3a) T banThus mankhusin laawcas
F Banthu S Mankhu O struck P
R Act Und Event
Banthu struck Mankhu.

3b) T banThus mankhusin laawcas ciccas
F Banthu S Mankhu O struck P
R Act Und Event
Banthu struck Mankhu (it was unexpected).

3c) T banThus mankhusin laawcas le hoccas
F Banthu S Mankhu O struck P
R Act Und Event
Banthu struck Mankhu (it was unexpected; I, the speaker, didn't think he could do it).

4a) T manrupas xessan xaTTias
F Manrup S paddy O divided P
R Manrup divided the paddy.

4b) DT manrupas abRarge xessan xaTTias ciccas
F Manrup S to them IO paddy O divided gave P
R Act psSit Und Event
Manrup divided the paddy among them.

4c) DRT jhannar xessan xaTTrar kerar
F workmen S paddy O got divided went P
R psSit Und Event
The workmen have divided up the paddy among themselves.

4d) TR jhannar xessan xaTTrar le hoccar
F workmen S paddy O got divided took P
R Act Und Event
The workmen divided the paddy up among themselves (it was unexpected. I, the speaker, thought that Manrup would do it).

In general, the past tense forms of the auxiliaries ci?a 'give' and ho?a 'take' mean that the action denoted by the verb was contrary to expectation. But this meaning is not always easy to translate.

For example, in the clause *neeTas guddin carrias ciccas* 'Nate tore the kite,' the auxiliary *ciccas* cannot be translated by 'unexpectedly.' It is used, in this clause, to draw attention to the fact that in the view of the speaker the normal function of kites is not to 'tear' but to 'fly' them. Hence, anything which in the judgment of the speaker violates accepted behavior may be verbalized by the past tense of *ci?a*. In other clauses *ci?a* is used in a benefactive sense. But here also the meaning 'contrary to expectation' may well be entailed, though not necessarily in relation to the speaker.

Similarly *ho?a* 'take' when used as a verbal auxiliary means 'contrary to expectation.' But in contrast to *ci?a* it is used to denote that the action (which was contrary to expectation) was done to, for, on, or in relation to the Actor--that is, it means 'reflexive' (in a very general sense) as well as 'contrary to expectation.' On the other hand, *ci?a* means 'non-reflexive' in addition to 'contrary to expectation.' The contrast can be illustrated by comparing example 2b with example 2c, and 4b with 4d. In 2b *cicca* means that the action was unexpected in the sense that 'who would have expected that Nirmala would sit *there*, on top of *Santi*!?,' whereas in 2c *hocca* means that the action was unexpected in the sense that, 'who would have thought that Nirmala could sit there? I, for one, thought it wouldn't be possible for her to do so.' In 4b *ciccas* means that the action was unexpected in the sense that normally the action denoted by the verb is done without a benefactor in mind, whereas in 4d *hoccar* means that the action was unexpected in the sense that normally the action denoted by the verb is done without the actor in mind. Contrary to expectation, a benefactor is in mind in 4b, and an actor in 4d (the actor being also the beneficiary of the action).

The verbal auxiliary *kaala* in Transitive set clauses indicates that the action denoted by the verb has reached its end-point or terminus so far as the speaker is concerned. It is characteristically used to mark the end-point of an action with verbs of motion in Semi-Transitive clauses. (It is also used extensively in Receptive set clauses to mark the end-point of a process or change of state.) Example 4c illustrates the use of the past tense of *kaala* to indicate that all of the paddy that was there (on the threshing-floor) to be distributed was, in fact, distributed.

2. *Systemic Contrasts*.

2.1 General Contrasts.

In this section we give evidence for contrast between state and event clauses, Transitive and Receptive clauses, Transitive and Transitive-Receptive clauses, Receptive and Receptive-Transitive clauses, and Transitive-Receptive and Receptive-Transitive clauses. Since we do not directly undertake a description of state clauses we are concerned to give evidence for contrast between state and event clauses only in order to provide a general account of the systemic differences between them. In so doing we attempt to give token justification for further remarks that are made in this Section and in Section C with respect to derived stative clauses.

We proceed hierarchically to show contrasts, first of all, between the most inclusive transitivity subsystems (state versus event clauses), and then in descending order, between less and less inclusive subsystems (Transitive-set versus Receptive-set, then Transitive-subset versus Transitive-Receptive-subset and Receptive-subset versus Receptive-Transitive-subset). Proceeding in this fashion, it is not strictly necessary that we give contrasts for the Transitive-Receptive-subset versus the Receptive-Transitive subset, but we have chosen to do so because of certain features that these latter share in common which might be interpreted to mean that they do not really contrast systemically. Hence, we have included evidence for contrast between them in order to show that, despite these shared features, they do, in fact, contrast. In so doing, the reader is provided with a cross-check on contrast between sets (Transitive versus Receptive) that have already been shown to be in contrast (Section B-2.12).

Following is a matrix showing the full transitivity subsystem for event clauses in Dhangar-Kurux. Solid lines enclose sets of clauses; broken lines separate subsets of clauses. The labels in the cells are abbreviations for names of specific clause patterns, E = Eventive, etc. Cells are numbered consecutively 1-16.

Receptive	Receptive	1 E	2 SR	3 R	4 DR
	Receptive-Transitive	5 ET	6 SRT	7 RT	8 DRT
Transitive	Transitive	9 I	10 ST	11 T	12 DT
	Transitive-Receptive	13 IR	14 STR	15 TR	16 DTR

Figure 11. Full transitivity subsystem for Dhangar-Kurux event clauses.

2.11 State versus Event.

A-set and S-set	R-set and T-set
1. Undergoers of the Attributive set and Actors of the Stative set are potential Undergoers and potential Actors (po Und and Sta) respectively.	1. Undergoers and Actors of the Receptive and Transitive sets are not potential Undergoers and Actors. (Rather, they are 'real' or pseudo- in the case of Undergoers, and 'real' in the case of Actors.)

A mankhus ko:ha ra?das
S C P
poUnd psUnd State
Mankhu tall is
Mankhu is tall.

R mankhus xardias
S P
Und Event
Mankhu got tired
Mankhu got tired.

(In the above and following examples in the remainder of this section, B-2, and in Section B-3, we omit the lefthand margin abbreviations F (focus) and R (role). Where not germane to the argument, we have omitted focus and role information altogether.)

S mira adin ax?i
S O P
Sta Und State
Mira her knows
Mira knows her.

T mira TaTTin nisgia
S O P
Act Und Event
Mira wall mudded
Mira mudded the wall.

2. The focus auxiliaries ci?a, ho?a, and kaala do not normally occur in the past tense.

2. The focus auxiliaries ci?a, ho?a, and kaala characteristically occur in the past tense.

dDA aas eRpaa=nu raacas
he house=in was
He was in the house.

STR aas eRpaa=nu raacas keras
he house=in was went
He stayed in the house.

S een ciglan eerdan
I jackal see
I see the jackal.

TT een eeRan iirkan cicckan
I goat saw gave
I looked after the goats.

3. Derivational shifting rule never entails the use of the auxiliary ra?a.

3. Derivational shifting rule always entails the use of the stative auxiliary ra?a.

A mankhus ko:ha ra?das
Mankhu tall is
Mankhu is tall.

R mankhus ca:yyas
Mankhu got wet
Mankhu got wet.

4. A-set clauses do not occur in temporal-sequence sentences. (The asterisk in the A example means 'non-occurring'.)

4. R-set and T-set clauses do occur in temporal-sequence sentences. (See T example.)

A *ko:ha ra?das ki iskul keras paRh?aage
tall is sequ school went to study
Being big he went to school to study.

T tanggio=hi baatan khanDias ki iskul keras paRh?aage
mother's word cut sequ school went to study
Having disobeyed his mother's command he went to school to study.

5.	Sentences in which A-set clauses occur are distributed in the peripheries of narrative paragraphs. (In the examples, 'P-' means 'periphery,' and 'N-' means 'nucleus.')	5.	Sentences in which R-set and T-set clauses occur are distributed in the nucleii of narrative paragraphs.

P-1 DA eek dees=nu eek raajas raacas
one country=in one king was
In a certain country there lived a king.

P-2 DA aa raajasge laRka laRki mala raaca
that to king boy girl not was
That king had no children.

P-3 A aas baRa cintaa=nu raacas
he big worry=in was
He was very concerned (about it).

N-4 T eesa mante mante kooy din=hi baad=nu baaban lawwa
so being being some day's after=in Brahmin barber
Being concerned as he was, some time later....

joot is-pandit loogarin miixias....
astrologer people called
he summoned the priests, barbers, and astrologers....

In this (partial) narrative, P-1, P-2, and P-3 are Attributive-set—that is, state clauses. These three sentences constitute the periphery of the paragraph since, in them, no event is related but only those matters that set the stage for an event. In sentence N-4, which begins by recapitulating the matters leading up to the event (eesa mante mante...), the narrator cites the event ...baaban lawwa jootis-pandit loogarin miixias and this constitutes the nucleus (or part of the nucleus) of the paragraph.

6.	A-set and S-set clauses do not take the passive derivation.	6.	T-cell clauses characteristically take the passive derivation. (See Section C, Derived Patterns, for examples.)
7.	A-set and S-set clauses do not take the imperative and causative derivations.	7.	T-set clauses characteristically take the imperative and causative derivations. (See Section, C. Derived Patterns, for examples of the causative.)

2.12 Transitive-set versus Receptive-set (+Actor versus -Actor).

	Transitive-set		Receptive-set
1.	Subject is invariably the Actor.	1.	Subject of E and SR clauses is pseudo-Undergoer (renamed as Predicate Extension); Subject of R and DR clauses is Undergoer. (Some E and SR clauses are subjectless.)
I	aas cii:xias S P Act Event he wept He wept.	E	maaxa manja kera S P psUnd Event night became went It has become night.
ST	aas piTri=nu ukkias ciccas S R P Act Sit Event he mat=on sat gave He sat down on the mat!	SR	aasge kiiRa laggia kera IO S P psSit psUnd Event to him hunger got applied went He has become hungry.
T	aas enggan laawcas S O P Act Und Event he me struck He struck me.	R	aas xardias S P Und Event he got tired He got tired.
DT	aas xeeran bas=nu laccas S O R P Act Und Sit Event He chickens bus=on loaded He loaded the chickens on the bus.	DR	aas gaDDii=nu khattras S R P Und Sit Event he ditch=in fell He fell into a ditch.
2.	Normal order of constituents is S-IO-O-C-P alternating with S-O-R-C-P. (See Section B-1.23 for examples.)	2.	Normal order of constituents is IO-S-C-P alternating with S-R-C-P (R-S-P in SR pattern). (See Section B-1.23 for examples.)
3.	The verbal affix -r- 'passive' deletes Actors of T-subset clauses. (See Section B-2.13 contrastive feature 2, and Section 2.14 contrastive feature 1 for examples.)	2.	The verbal affix -r- 'passive' does not apply to R-set clauses.

Here and throughout this section (unless specifically noted otherwise) the term 'passive' is used to denote both clauses that are passive due to the application of the Actor-deletion rule (that is, derived passive clauses), and also clauses that are inherently passive (that is, Receptive-Transitive-subset clauses). See Section C-2 for further discussion.

4.	The verbal affix -taa- 'causative' induces Actor displacement in T-cell and DT-cell clauses (with certain exceptions). In the resultant clause, the displaced Actor has become an Agent. In I-cell and ST-cell clauses -taa- 'causative' induces Transposition of roles.	4.	The verbal affix -taa- 'causative' does not normally apply.

T banThus DanDan essas
S O P
Act Und Event
Banthu stick broke
Banthu broke the stick.

dT naraaynas DanDan es-taa-c-as banThus=paahi
S O P A
Act-Cs Und Event Ag
Narayan stick caused to break Banthu=by
Narayan had the stick broken by Banthu.

I een cii:xkan
S P
Act Event
I wept
I wept.

dT mankhus enggan cii:x-taa-c-as
S O P
Act-Cs Und Event
Mankhu me caused to weep.
Mankhu made me weep.

5.	Focus auxiliaries ci?a and ho?a characteristically occur with the exception that ci?a does not normally occur in TR subset clauses. ('Himself' is underlined in the third example for emphasis.)	5.	Focus auxiliaries ci?a and ho?a do not characteristically occur.[5] The auxiliary kaala characteristically occurs.
T	aas booran carrias ciccas he sack tore gave He tore up the sack.	R	boora carra kera sack tore went The sack has torn.

T	aas goTe manDin onDas *ciccas* he all rice ate gave He ate up all the rice.	R	manDi alghem ondra *kera* rice easily got eaten went The rice melted in my mouth.
IR	taan emcas le *hoccas* himself bathed took He has had *himself* a bath	RT	mankhusin emtaara *kera* Mankhu got bathed went I bathed Mankhu by mistake.
ST	aas engghay=ma:yya ukkias he my=upon sat le *hoccas* took He took his seat on top of me!	SRT	bhaa:si=ma:yya okkra *kera* grass=upon got sat went I sat down on the grass by mistake.
6.	The present tense of T-set clauses normally entails no shift to the state side of the transitivity system	6.	The present tense of R-set clauses normally entails a shift to the state side of the transitivity system.
T	abRar xessan xossar they paddy cut They reaped the paddy.	R	TaTxa panja kera mango ripened went The mangoes have gotten ripe.
dT	abRar xessan *xooynar* they paddy reap They are cutting the paddy.	A	TaTxa akhaar=nu *paani* mango June-July=in ripen Mango fruit ripens in June-July.

In the derived Transitive clause with *xooynar*, present tense indefinite aspect of *xooya* 'to reap,' the action denoted is that of action in progress, but without any reference to its 'progress.' A typical question eliciting this clause as an answer would be *ender nannar* 'what are they doing?'. With the addition of a time word to the derived Transitive clause, such as *puus=nu* 'in December-January,' a shift to the state side of the transitivity system will be induced. But whereas with the present tense of *xooya*, the addition of a time word is optional, with the present tense of *paana* 'to ripen' the time word, or its equivalent, is obligatory. (Deletion of the time word, or its equivalent, in *TaTxa jeeTh=nu paani* must be accompanied by a change in the verb phrase if the result desired is that of action in progress: *Tatxa paana laggi* 'the mangoes are ripening.' The imperfect auxiliary, *lagga* contains an explicit reference to the 'progress' of the ripening process.)

7.	The modal verb *bedda* means 'want to' in present tense imperfect aspect.	7.	The modal verb *bedda* means 'be likely to' in present tense imperfect aspect.

dD	aas manDi ona bedda laggdas he rice eat search is-ing He wants to eat (rice).	A	TaTxa paana bedda laggi mango ripen search is-ing The mangoes are likely to ripen.
8.	The nominalizing affix -u characteristically occurs with verbs of the T-set.	8.	The nominalizing affix -u does not normally occur with verbs of the R-set.
dST	caay un-u-s bar?a laggdas tea drinker come is-ing The tea-drinker is coming.		

2.13 Transitive-subset versus Transitive-Receptive-subset.

	Transitive-subset		Transitive-Receptive-subset
1.	The verbal affix -r- 'reflexive' and the focus auxiliary kaala do not occur.	1.	The verbal affix -r- 'reflexive' and/or the focus auxiliary kaala characteristically, but not always, occur.
I	aas cii:xias S P Act Event he wept He wept.	IR	aas emcas S P Act Event he bathed He bathed (himself).
I	een alkhkan S P Act Event I laughed I laughed.	IR	een isum xass-r-kan S C P Act psUnd Event I oil rubbed-rv I rubbed myself down with oil.
ST	aas ukkias ciccas S P Act Event he sat gave He sat down there!	STR	aas eRpa cala keras S R P Act Sit Event he house went went He has gone home.
ST	een huus=sangge geem bicckan S R C P Act psSit psUnd Event I him=with football played I played football with him.	STR	aas mann=ma:yya argias keras S R P Act Sit Event he tree=upon climbed went He has climbed the tree.
T	een adi=hi cuTTin baagkan S O P Act Und Event I her hair combed I combed her hair.	TR	een cuTTi baag-r-kan S C P Act Und Event I hair combed-rv I combed my hair.

T	een	adi=hi	xeDDan	nuuRkan
	S		O	P
	Act		Und	Event
	I	her	foot	washed
	I washed her feet.			

TR	een	xeDDan	nooRh-r-kan
	S	O	P
	Act	Und	Event
	I	foot	washed-rv
	I washed my feet.		

T	een	adi=hi	xeDDan	nuuRkan
	S		O	P
	Act		Und	Event
	I	her	foot	washed
	I washed her feet.			

TR	een	xeDDan	nooRh-r-kan	kerkan
	S	O	P	
	Act	Und	Event	
	I	foot	washed-rv	went
	I have washed my feet.			

DT	aad	bayyan	xeexel=nu	ragdaaca
	S	O	R	P
	Act	Und	Sit	Event
	she	mouth	ground=on	rubbed
	She rubbed (someone else's) mouth on the ground.			

DTR	aad	bayyan	xeexel=nu	ragdaa-r-a
	S	O	R	P
	Act	Und	Sit	Event
	she	mouth	ground=on	rubbed-rv
	She rubbed her (own) mouth on the ground.			

DT	een	aasge	paysa	cicckan
	S	IO	C	P
	Act	psSit	Und	Event
	I	to him	money	gave
	I gave him some money.			

DTR	aad	aasge	kacian	hocca	kera
	S	IO	O	P	
	Act	psSit	Und	Event	
	she	to him	sickle	took	went
	She has taken the sickle to him.				

The affix -r- occurs with some verbs as part of the stem, for example ondr?a 'bring,' otthr?a 'take out.' This particular -r- does not mean 'reflexive' and we have not been able to isolate it as a separate morpheme apart from the base. Historically, it may have developed from 'reflexive' to 'zero' meaning.

Reasons for treating Transitive-Receptive clauses as part of the basic system rather than as part of the derived system of clause patterns are given in Section C. Derived Patterns.

In the examples listed above, the verbal affix -r- 'reflexive' means that the Actors, in each case, are semantically marked as +recipient as well as +actor. The agreement pattern between verb (marked by -r- 'reflexive') and Subject serves to link the two semantically as well as syntactically so that -r- may be said to signify that the Subject of the clause in which it occurs is the recipient of action denoted by the verb. This in turn is interpreted to mean that the Subject of -r- marked clauses has an Undergoer role component as well as an Actor role component. (In the examples, the Undergoer role component has not been indicated. It will be indicated in the formulas of Section B-3 via box-5 as a semantic feature, +recipient. Choosing to assign the feature +recipient to Subjects of -r- 'reflexive' clauses entails making the judgment that more than one constituent of a clause may share a common role, in this case that of Undergoer. For example, in one of the Transitive-Receptive cell clauses the Object xeDDan 'foot' is the Undergoer, and the Subject een 'I' is the Actor, but has an Undergoer component, +recipient. In each instance, however, the object is inalienably possessed by the Subject. This is to say then, that what the Object undergoes the Subject also undergoes—even when the Subject is an Actor.

In the examples above, the focus auxiliary kaala means that the Actors, in each case, are semantically marked as +mover as well as +Actor. ('mover' is here defined as 'someone or something that moves or develops or changes state.' See Section B-2.15 contrastive feature 6 for further amplification of what 'mover' is meant to signify.) Here also the agreement pattern is taken to mean that the meaning of verbal auxiliary kaala is shared by the Subject so that kaala, meaning 'movement,' signifies that the Subject is the mover in relation to the action denoted by the main verb. The feature +mover is distinguished from +actor and +recipient. +Actor means that the Actor performs the action denoted by the verb. +recipient means that the Actor is a recipient of the action denoted by the verb. But +mover means that the Actor is caught up in the action denoted by the verb—he moves with the action toward some potential end-point.

The verbal affix -r- 'reflexive' has been semantically differentiated from the verbal affix -r- 'passive' in this paper. However, it seems that this differentiation could be waived in favor of assigning -r- the single meaning 'passive' since both in Transitive-Receptive clauses and in derived Receptive clauses -r- performs the same function—it assigns to the Subject of such clauses the meaning 'recipient' of the action denoted by the verb. The difference in total role-meaning between the Subjects of Transitive-Receptive clauses and derived Receptive clauses is that those of the former are semantically marked as +actor +recipient ±mover and those of the latter as +recipient +mover. The meaning 'reflexive,' therefore, could be assigned, not to the verbal affix -r-, but to the subclass of Transitive-Receptive clauses which contain verbs marked by -r- 'passive.' In this paper, we will retain the wording 'reflexive,' but with the option in mind that we have considered here.

2.	The verbal affix -r- 'passive' characteristically applies.	2.	The verbal affix -r- 'passive does not apply. Some instances of -r- do occur (see Receptive-cell example below) but they are not 'passive' in meaning since the action denoted by the verb is viewed as having been brought about without the benefit of any human or divine agency.
T	bidulas xessan xossas Bidul paddy reaped Bidul reaped the paddy.	TR	een cuTTi baagrkan I hair combed-rv I combed my hair.

dR	xess xooy-r-a kera paddy got reaped went The paddy has been reaped.	R	cuTTi taanim baag-r-a kera hair itself combed went (My) hair got combed by itself (spoken facetiously).
3.	The verbal affix -*taa*- 'causative' induces displacement of roles in T-cell clauses.	3.	The verbal affix -*taa*- 'causative induces transposition of roles in TR-cell clauses.
T	*een* kicrin nuuRkan S O P Act Und Event I cloth washed *I* washed the clothes.	TR	*een* dahri khanDrkan S C P Act Und Event I beard cut-rv *I* shaved.
dT	aas kicrin nuuR-*taa*-c-as S O P Act-Cs Und Event he cloth caused to wash He had the clothes washed.	dT	aas *enggan* dahri khanDr-*taa*-c-as S O C P Act-Cs Und embed Event he me beard caused to cut He got *me* to shave.
4.	The focus auxiliary *ci?a* characteristically occurs.	4.	The focus auxiliary *ci?a* does not occur.
I	aas putras ciccas he vomited gave He vomited!	IR	aas xaa:sras he scratched He scratched (himself).
ST	aas Thalli=ma:yya ukkias he branch=on sat *ciccas* gave He sat down on the branch.	STR	neeTas eRpa cala keras Nate house went went Nate has gone home.
T	bidulas gaayan iirias *ciccas* Bidul cow saw gave Bidul looked after the cows.	TR	aas xekkhan nooRhras he hand washed He washed his (own) hands.
DT	puni aasge kacian hocca Puni to him sickle took *cicca* gave Puni took the sickle to him.	DTR	aad aasge kacian hocca kera she to him sickle took went She has taken the sickle to him.

2.14 Receptive-subset versus Receptive-Transitive-subset.

	Receptive-subset		Receptive-Transitive-subset
1.	The verbal affix -r- 'passive' does not occur.	1.	The verbal affix -r- 'passive' normally occurs.
E	bijjia kera dawned went It has dawned.	ET	joor=see naax-r-a kera very much got breathed went I got to breathing very heavily!
SR	abRar=nu jhagRa manja kera they=in quarrel became went They got into a quarrel.	SRT	ghaa:si=ma:yya okk-r-a kera grass=upon got sat went (I) sat down on the grass!
R	aas ca:yyas he got wet He got wet.	RT	taanim caa:yd-r-as himself was gotten wet He got himself wet.
R	aas ullias he got burned He got burned.	RT	aas laaw-r-as he got hit (by 2nd or 3rd person) (You/He) hit him.
R	DanDa es-r-a stick got broken The stick broke.	RT	aasin laaw-r-a him got hit (by 1st person) (I) hit him.
R	manDi alghem onD-r-a kera rice easily got eaten went The rice melted in my mouth.	RT	taanim laaw-r-as himself got hit He hit himself.
DR	aasge xadd paayda manja to him child birth became A child was born to him.	DRT	taamim xessan xaTT-r-ar selves paddy got divided They divided the paddy by themselves.

In each of the above examples, the verbal auxiliary kaala may occur. Its non-occurrence in a given clause means that the 'movement' (development, process, or change of state) denoted by the verb may or may not have reached its end-point so far as the speaker is concerned. He is not focussing on the 'movement' in relation to its end-point. Its occurrence in a given clause means that the 'movement' denoted by the verb has reached its end-point so far as the speaker is concerned and that he is focussing his attention upon that movement in relation to its end point.

The verbal affix -r- does, in fact, occur with Receptive-subset verbs as well as with Receptive-Transitive-subset verbs (see above for example DanDa es-r-a 'the stick broke'). But -r- does not mean 'passive' with Receptive-subset verbs. In the example cited above, DanDa 'the stick' did not get broken by an Actor that has been deleted. Rather, the stick 'broke' by itself. The passive of es- 'break' is formed from the causative base es-taa- as in DanDan estaa-r-a kera '(I) broke the stick.' Similarly, with *manDi* *alzhem* *onD-r-a* *kera* 'the rice melted in my mouth' the verbal affix -*r*- does not mean 'passive.' The rice is represented as being eaten by itself quite apart from any human agency.

In Receptive-Transitive-subset clauses, however, -*r*- clearly means 'passive' because in each case of its use an Actor has been deleted. These deleted Actors cannot be made explicit in the RT clauses themselves, but they are invariably made explicit in the discourse context—usually as the antithesis of an antithetical sentence. (A typical syntax frame for *aasin* *laaw-r-a* *kera*, for example, would be *een* *banThusin* *laaw?a* *lakkan* *leekin* *aasin* *laaw-r-a* *kera* 'I intended to hit (shoot) Banthu but got him instead' (where 'him' is Mankhu, for example). Literally translated, this sentence would read, 'I was going to hit Banthu but his got hit.'

2.	*taan*, the reflexive pronoun is used to mean that the 'movement' denoted by the verb was brought about without the benefit of any human or divine agency. That is, it is not used reflexively.	2.	*taan*, the reflexive pronoun, is used to mean that the 'movement' denoted by the verb was brought about with the benefit of human or divine agency. That is, it is used reflexively.
R	aas *taan-im* ca:yyas he himself got wet He got wet *by* *himself*.	RT	*taan-im* caa:ydras himself was gotten wet He got *himself* wet instead!
3.	In Receptive cell clauses the Undergoer is always marked marked as Subject.	3.	In non-reflexive Receptive-Transitive cell clauses the Undergoer is marked as Object if a first-person Actor has been deleted.
R	*aas* ca:yya*s* S P Und Event he got wet *He* got wet.	RT	*aas-in* caa:ydra O P Und Event him was gotten wet (I) got *him* wet instead!
4.	In Di-Receptive cell clauses the Undergoer is always marked marked as Subject.	4.	In Di-Receptive-Transitive cell clauses the undergoer is marked as Object if the Site is marked for Subject.
DR	aasgc *laRkas* paayda manja*s* IO S C P psSit Und psUnd Event to him son birth became *A* *son* was born to him.	DRT	taamim xess-an xaTTrar S O P psSit Und Event selves paddy got divided They divided up the paddy among themselves.

A typical sentence frame for the above DRT clause would be *een s66b dina abRarge xessan xaTTa ca?a lakkan leekin awla taamim xaTTrar kerar*. This might be translated, 'I used to have the paddy divided up among them every day, but on that particular day it got divided up by themselves—without me being there!' An original Indirect Object, abRarge 'to them' becomes the Subject of the antithetic clause, but the role structure remains constant across the two clauses as indicated by the change in verb stem from original *xaTT-* to derived *xaTTr-*.

5.	Distribution in sentence types relatively unrestricted.	5.	Distribution in sentence types relatively restricted.

For examples of the kind of restrictions on the distribution of RT-subset clauses see the discussion above under Section 2.14, contrastive feature 1. In general, the constraints on RT clauses are that the original Actors are normally made explicit in the same sentences in which the RT clauses themselves occur, and that these sentences are normally adversative sentences. The following is a set of examples that illustrate the distributional restriction on RT-subset clauses for most persons and singular and plural numbers. A Semi-Receptive-Transitive clause has been selected for this purpose.

1)	een	mankhus=ma:yya	amman	eccha	lakkan	leekin	*engghay=ma:yya*
	I	Mankhu=upon	water	splash	was-ing	but	my=upon

ecchra
got splashed
I intended to splash Mankhu but *got* *myself* *instead*.

2)	een	mankhus=ma:yya	amman	eccha	lakkan	leekin	*ningghay=ma:yya*
	I	Mankhu=upon	water	splash	was-ing	but	your=on

ecchra
got splashed
I intended to splash Mankhu but *got* *you* *instead*.

3)	een	mankhus=ma:yya	amman	eccha	lakkan	leekin	*aad=ma:yya*
	I	Mankhu=upon	water	splash	was-ing	but	her=upon

ecchra
got splashed
I intended to splash Mankhu but *got* *her* *instead*.

4)	eem	mankhus=ma:yya	amman	eccha	lakkan	leekin	*emhay=ma:yya*
	we	Mankhu=upon	water	splash	were-ing	but	our=upon

ecchra
got splashed
We intended to splash Mankhu but *got* *ourselves* *instead*.

5) eem mankhus=ma:yya amman eccha lakkam leekin nimhay=ma:yya
we Mankhu=upon water splash were-ing but your=upon

ecchra
got splashed
We intended to splash Mankhu but got you (plural) instead.

6) eem mankhus=ma:yya amman eccha lakkam leekin abRar=ma:yya
we Mankhu=upon water splash were-ing but they=upon

ecchra
got splashed
We intended to splash Mankhu but got them instead.

6.	Actors cannot be made explicit either in the R-subset clauses themselves or elsewhere in the discourse context.	6.	Actors cannot be made explicit in the RT-subset clauses themselves, but are normally made explicit somewhere in the discourse context.

This contrast has been discussed in other places in this section and is a corollary of our previous definition of -r- in RT verbs as 'passive.'

2.15 Transitive-Receptive-subset versus Receptive-Transitive-subset.

	Transitive-Receptive-subset		Receptive-Transitive-subset
1.	The Subject is always expressed either explicitly or via the agreement pattern in the verb.	1.	The Subject is almost never expressed in ET and SRT clauses, nor is it normally expressed in non-reflexive RT clauses in which a first-person Actor has been deleted.
IR	een emckan S P Act Event I bathed I bathed (myself).	ET	joor=see naaxra kera adv P Event loudly got breathed went (I) got to breathing very loudly.
STR	aas eRpa cala keras S R P Act Sit Event he house went went He has gone home.	SRT	ghaa:si=ma:yya okkra kera R P Sit Event grass=upon got sat went (I) sat down on the grass instead.

TR	een xeDDan nooRhrkan S P Act Und Event I foot washed-rv I washed my feet.	RT	mankhusin emtaara kera O P Und Event Mankhu got bathed went (I) bathed Mankhu by mistake.
2.	Actors are always expressed either explicitly or via the agreement pattern in the verb.	2.	Actors never expressed (but are implicit).

(For examples and discussion illustrating this contrast see Section B-2.14 and B-2.15 contrastive feature 1.)

3.	The verbal affix -taa- 'causative' characteristically applies entailing derivation from TR-subset to T-subset.	3.	The verbal affix -taa- 'causative' does not normally apply.

1a. IR een muujrkan
I face-washed-rv
I washed my face.

1b. dT inggio enggan muujr-taa-c-a
my mother me caused to face-wash
My mother got me to wash my face.

2a. STR aas mann=ma:yya argias
he tree=up climbed
He climbed up the tree.

2b. dT een aasin mann=ma:yya arg-taa-c-kan
I him tree=up caused to climb
I got him to climb up the tree.

3a. TR een xessan naabkan
I paddy threshed
I threshed the paddy.

3b. dT manrupas xessan naab-taa-c-as
Manrup paddy caused to thresh
Manrup had the paddy threshed.

4.	Distribution in sentence types relatively unrestricted.	4.	Distribution in sentence types relatively restricted.

(For examples and discussion of this kind of contrast see Section B-2.14 under contrastive feature 5.)

5.	Imperative derivation characteristically applies.	5.	Imperative derivation does not normally apply.
6.	The focus auxiliary kaala occurs restrictedly.	6.	The focus auxiliary kaala occurs unrestrictedly.
IR	een emckan *kerkan I bathed went I bathed.	RT	aasin emtaara kera him got bathed went (I) bathed him by mistake.

The auxiliary kaala occurs restrictedly in TR clauses because in many instances the Subject/Actor is not semantically a 'mover' but a 'recipient.' Hence, in the clause een emckan 'I bathed' een 'I' is a recipient (as well as an actor) and so the clause cannot be marked by this auxiliary. But in the clause aas eRpa kirrias keras 'he has returned home' aas 'he' is a mover (as well as an actor), but not a recipient, and therefore the clause can be marked by this auxiliary.

The auxiliary kaala occurs unrestrictedly in RT clauses because in every instance the Undergoer is a mover (as well as a recipient), but in no case is it an actor. That is to say, in the clause aasin emtaara kera in the RT clause above the Object/Undergoer aasin 'him' has undergone a change of state (as well as having become a recipient of the action denoted by the verb stem em- 'bathe'). ('mover' is defined here as someone or something that moves, develops, or changes state.) We may view the semantic features 'mover' and 'recipient' in the RT clauses as merging together conceptually such that if we refer to the Undergoers of these clauses as 'having become recipients' we have said the same thing about them (the Undergoers) as when referring to them as semantically differentiated as +mover +recipient. The phrase 'having become' corresponds conceptually with 'mover' and 'recipient' with 'recipient.'

The semantic distinction between mover and recipient is necessary, however, to explain why the auxiliary kaala does not occur in TR clauses like een emckan 'I bathed (myself).' It does not occur because the Subject/Actor does not 'move' in relation to a potential end-point of the action denoted by the verb. In other words, there is no movement or development or change of state with respect to the action denoted by the verb stem em- 'bathe (oneself).' If, in fact, we wish to speak of motion in connection with this clause, we must still distinguish it from the motion entailed in clauses like aasin emtaara kera '(I) bathed him.' We can do this by saying of the latter that 'process motion' is entailed, and of the former that 'non-process motion' is entailed—that is, motion-in-place.

The feature differentiating kaala-marked clauses of both subsets is the semantic feature +actor/-actor. kaala-marked TR clauses are +actor clauses both in relation to the Subject and to the Predicate (because of agreement patterns), while kaala-marked RT clauses are -actor clauses both in relation to the Subject (Object with non-reflexive clauses from which a first-person Actor has been deleted) and to the Predicate.

2.2 Specific Contrasts.

2.21 Contrasts between clauses containing no primary roles.

	Eventive		Eventive-Transitive
1.	The verbal affix -r- 'passive does not occur.	1.	The verbal affix -r- 'passive' normally occurs.
E	bijjia kera dawned went It has dawned.	ET	joor=see naax-r-a kera loudly got breathed went I got to breathing very loudly.
2.	Intrinsically -Actor.	2.	Intrinsically +Actor, though the Actor cannot be expressed in the ET clause itself.
E	maaxia kera nighted went It has nighted.	ET	joor=see piitra kera loudly got passed gas went (I) passed gas obstreperously.

2.22 Contrasts between clauses containing one primary role.

	Semi-Receptive		Semi-Receptive-Transitive
1.	Same as under 2.21.	1.	Same as under 2.21.
2.	Same as under 2.21.	2.	Same as under 2.21.

	Receptive		Receptive-Transitive
1.	Same as under 2.21.	1.	Same as under 2.21.
2.	Same as under 2.21.	2.	Same as under 2.21.
3.	Undergoer always marked as Subject.	3.	Undergoer marked as Object in non-reflexive clauses if deleted Actor was a first person.
R	mankhus ullias keras S P Und Event Mankhu got burned went Mankhu has gotten burned.	RT	mankhus-in caa:ydra kera O P Und Event Mankhu was gotten wet went (I) got Mankhu wet.

	Receptive		Intransitive
1.	The Undergoer is marked as	1.	The Actor is marked as Subject.

	Subject.		
R	aas naRiaaras keras S P Und Event he fevered went He has come down with a fever.	I	aas alkhias S P Act Event he laughed He laughed.
2.	Focus auxiliary kaala characteristically occurs.	2.	Focus auxiliary kaala does not normally occur.
3.	Imperative derivation restricted.	3.	Imperative derivation unrestricted.
4.	Verbal affix -baa- 'imperative-causative' does not normally occur.	4.	Verbal affix -baa- 'imperative-causative' normally occurs.
		I	een manDi onDkan I rice ate I ate (my rice-meal).
		T	aas enggan mandi onaa-baa-c-as he me rice told to eat He told me to eat (my rice-meal).

	Receptive-Transitive		Intransitive-Receptive
1.	Undergoer is marked as Subject.	1.	Actor is marked as Subject.
RT	mankhus emtaaras keras S P Und Event Mankhu got bathed went (someone) bathed Mankhu.	IR	mankhus emcas S P Act Event Mankhu bathed Mankhu bathed (himself).
2.	Focus auxiliary kaala characteristically occurs.	2.	Focus auxiliary kaala does not normally occur with the receptive subset of clauses.
3.	Same as under Receptive.	3.	Same as under Intransitive.
4.	Same as under Receptive.	4.	Same as under Intransitive.

2.23 Contrast between clauses containing two primary roles.

	Di-Receptive		Di-Receptive-Transitive
1.	Verbal affix -r- 'passive' does not occur.	1.	Verbal affix -r- 'passive' always occurs.

```
DR    gaay thala=nu lasgia
      cow  mud=in   got stuck
      The cow got stuck in the mud.
```

2. Intrinsically -Actor.

```
DRT   aasge  mudd-in ci?taara kera
      to him ring    given    went
      (I) gave the ring to him by
      mistake.
```

2. Intrinsically +Actor, though the Actor cannot be expressed in the DRT clause itself.

Di-Receptive

1. Undergoer is marked as Subject.

```
DR    aasge   laRkas paayda manjas
      IO      S      C      P
      psSit   Und    psUnd  Event
      to him  son    birth  became

         keras
         went
         A son has been born to
         him.
```

2. Focus auxiliary kaala characteristically occurs.

3. Same as under Receptive in Section B-2.22.

4. Same as under Receptive in Section B-2.22.

Semi-Transitive

1. Actor is marked as Subject.

```
ST    aas emhay=sangge geem
      S   R            C
      Act psSit        psUnd
      he  our=with     football

         biccias
         P
         Event
         played
         He played football with us.
```

2. Focus auxiliary kaala does not normally occur.

3. Same as under Intransitive in Section B-2.22.

4. Same as under Intransitive in Section B-2.22.

Semi-Transitive

1. Actor is not +mover.

Semi-Transitive-Receptive

1. Actor is +mover.

(For examples and box-5 semantic features, see Section B-3 under Semi-Transitive and Semi-Transitive-Receptive clauses, respectively.)

2. Same as under Semi-Transitive above.

3. The focus auxiliary ci?a characteristically occurs.

```
ST    aas engghay=ma:yya ukkias
      he  my=upon        sat

         ciccas
         gave
```

2. Same as under DiReceptive above.

3. The focus auxiliary ci?a does not normally occur.

```
STR   aas onaage ukkias keras
      he  to eat sat    went
      He has taken his seat for the
      meal.
```

He sat down on top of me!

	Transitive		Transitive-Receptive
1.	Verbal affix -r- 'reflexive' does not occur.	1.	Verbal affix -r- 'reflexive' occurs.
T	aas maya=hi xeDDan nuuRias he baby's foot washed He washed the baby girl's feet.	TR	aas xeDDan nooRh-r-as he foot washed-rv He washed his (own)feet.
2.	Verbal affix -r- 'passive' characteristically applies.	2.	Verbal affix -r- 'passive' does not apply.
T	bidulas xessan xossas Bidul paddy reaped Bidul reaped paddy.		
dR	xess xooy-r-a kera paddy got reaped went The paddy has been reaped.		
3.	Same as under Semi-Transitive above.	3.	Same as under Semi-Transitive-Receptive above.
4.	Verbal affix -taa- 'causative' induces displacement of roles.	4.	Verbal affix -taa- 'causative' induces transposition of roles.
T	aas engghay xeDDan nuuRias he my foot washed He washed my feet.	TR	aas xeDDan nooRhras he foot washed He washed his (own) feet.
dT	mankhus engghay xeDDan nuuR- Mankhu my foot caused taa-c-as to wash Mankhu had my feet washed.	dT	mankhus aasin xeDDan nooRhr- Mankhu him foot caused taa-c-as to wash Mankhu got him to wash his feet.
T	aas adi=hi xeDDan nuuRias S O P Act Und Event He her foot washed He washed her feet.	TR	aas xeDDan nooRhras S O P Act Und Event he foot washed He washed his (own) feet.
dT	een adi=hi xeDDan nuuR- S O P Act-Cs Und Event I her foot caused	dT	een aasin xeDDan nooRhr-taa- S O O P Act-Cs Und embed Event I him foot caused to

taa-c-kan	c-kan
to wash	wash
I had her feet washed.	I got him to wash his feet.

2.24 Contrast between clauses containing three primary roles.

	Di-Transitive		Di-Transitive-Receptive
1.	Same as under Transitive above.	1.	Same as under Transitive-Receptive above.
2.	Same as under Transitive above.	2.	Same as under Transitive-Receptive above.
3.	Same as under Semi-Transitive above.	3.	Same as under Semi-Transitive-Receptive above.

3. Contrastive Types.

Beginning with the Eventive cell and proceeding consecutively through the sixteen cells of the transitivity subsystem shown in Figure 11, we will provide a set of examples together with a formula that represents the clause pattern, or subpattern, which the examples illustrate.

Since the Subject virtually always agrees with the Predicate in Dhangar-Kurux clause patterns agreement will not be noted in the formulas. A slash / means 'either/or' (as opposed to both/and). The hyphen separating morphemes in the vernacular examples is used sparingly—only where morpheme juncture is relevant to the role structure of the clause being illustrated. A series of three hyphens --- occurring at the end of the vernacular example means that the clause is normally dependent on another clause to complete the sentence construction of which it forms a part. Parentheses around a word in the vernacular example means that it is normally elided in the speech of our language helper.

The semantic features marked in box-5 of the formulas are as follows: for primary roles—±actor, ±recipient, ±mover, ±location, +beneficiary; for pseudo-Undergoers and pseudo-Sites that function as Predicate Extensions—±environmental, -recipient, -mover; and for Events—+active, ±receptive, +receptive-active, ±movement. Some or all of these features may be analyzed into finer semantic components. For example, +location may be further analyzed as +goal, +source, +internal, +direction, and +path; -location into +goal, +source, +associate, +counter agent, +beneficiary, +experiencer, etc.; +recipient into + recipient, +beneficiary, +experiencer, +possessor; +actor into +actor, +benefactor, +source, etc. Though we have ignored these semantic distinctions in the formulas it is probable—even at the present stage of our investigation of the language—that some of them need to be incorporated in order to specify semantic contrasts at the clause level. For example, the role components of inherent Receptive-subset clauses which are here marked as +recipient in box-5 might need to be marked as +experiencer in Semi-Receptive, some Receptive, and some Di-receptive clauses, but +(non-passive) receptive in certain other Receptive and Di-Receptive clauses, and perhaps in the case of some Di-Receptive clauses, +possessor. The role components that have been marked as +recipient in Transitive, Transitive-Receptive, and Receptive-Transitive subsets of clauses, however, are characteristically +(passive) recipient--not +experiencer, +(non-passive) recipient, or +possessor. Such distinctions have not been marked in box-5, though it is necessary to remark that +recipient in the Receptive-subset stands for a different set of features than +recipient in the other subsets.

In view of the agreement that normally exists between Subject and Predicate grammatical categories in Dhangar-Kurux we have normally marked semantic features in box-5 redundantly across both categories. So, for example, if the Predicate of a particular clause is marked as +movement, the Subject is marked as +mover or +movement if the Subject is a Predicate Extension and so forth. This dual marking may entail an implicit definition of Subject as that entity of a clause that shares in the semantic feature specification that is inherent in the predicate. We are not concerned here with the questions of whether or not this is so, or how it works given that it is so. Predicates in Dhangar-Kurux do, however, appear to possess, inherently, certain semantic components which are extended or not extended to role components on the basis of whether or not there is a Subject present in the clause. In Eventive and Semi-Receptive clauses that are Subject-less, for example, in which the Predicate is semantically marked as ±movement, there is no role component with which it shares that particular feature specification. This appears to lend support to the idea that Predicates inherently possess certain semantic feature specifications and that when a Subject is also present in a clause it derives its semantic feature specification, at least in part, from the Predicate. If this is so, it gives us a preliminary definition of Subject which we were unable to furnish in Section B-1.2 in terms of focus phenomena.

In many instances where clause patterns contrast by virtue of box-5 semantic features there is a corresponding contrast in derivation potential. Hence, these formulas and accompanying examples should be compared with the corresponding derivational diagrams given in Section C.

3.1a <u>Eventive</u> (+movement).

```
± S      ! NP        + P      ! VP
  -------+-----        -------+-----
  psUnd  ' +env        Event  ' +mov
           +mov
```

```
1)  biiRi         eex-r-a kera          4) bijjia kera
    sun-heat S    cooled went P            dawned went P
    psUnd         Event                    Event
    It has cooled off (weather).           It's gotten light.
```

2) biiRi cala kera
sun-heat S went went P
psUnd Event
It's gotten late.

3) uuxia kera
darkened went P
Event
It's gotten dark.

5) paa:c baje manja kera
five belled S became went P
psUnd Event
It's five o'clock.

3.1b Eventive (-movement).

± S ¦ NP + P ¦ VP
psUnd ¦ +env Event ¦ -mov
-mov

1) cee:p possa
rain S rained P
psUnd Event
It rained.

2) badaali laggaa-baa-c-a
cloud S applied-cv P
psUnd Event
It clouded over.

3) biDDa
sun-heated P
Event
It was hot.

3.2a Semi-Receptive (+recipient).

+ IO/R ¦ NP ± S ¦ NP + P ¦ VP
psSit ¦ +rec psUnd ¦ -env Event ¦ +mov
-loc +mov

1) mankhus-ge kiiRa laggia kera
to Mankhu hunger S applied went P
psSit psUnd Event
Mankhu has gotten hungry.

2) ninggaa-ge kaam-jokar manja kera
to you IO life-work S became went P
psSit psUnd Event
Your life-work has come.

3) enggaa-ge bimarri manja kera
to me IO sickness S became went P
psSit psUnd Event
I've gotten sick.

```
4)  puni-ge     naRi     barca
    to puni IO fever S came P
    psSit       psUnd    Event
    Puni has a fever.

5)  tanggio    tambar     dunu-goRe=nu jhagRa     manja  kera
    his mother his father two-cls=in R quarrel S became went P
    psSit                              psUnd      Event
    His parents got into a quarrel.
```

3.2b <u>Semi-Receptive</u> (-recipient)

```
   R  ! NP          S     ! NP       P     ! VP
+ ----+-----     + ------+----    + ------+-----
  Sit ! -rec       psUnd ! -env     Event ' +mov
      ' +loc             ' +mov
```

```
1)  caali=nu       biRna       laggia  kera
    courtyard=in R sun-heat S applied went P
    Sit            psUnd       Event
    The sun has struck the courtyard.

2)  eRpaa=nu   Thanka      khatt-r-a kera
    house=in R lightning S fell      went P
    Sit        psUnd       Event
    Lightning has struck the house.
```

3.3a <u>Receptive</u> (+recipient).

```
   S  ! NP            C     ! NP         P     ! VP
+ ----+------     ± ------+-----    + ------+-----
  Und ! +rec        psUnd ! -rec      Event ! +recv
      ' +mover            ' +mov            ' +mov
```

```
1)  mankhus  ca:yyas keras
    Mankhu S got wet went P
    Und      Event
    Mankhu has gotten wet.

2)  mira   ullia       kera
    Mira S got burned went P
    Und    Event
    Mira has gotten burned.

3)  suruj deebas naRiaa-r-as keras
    Suruj Dev S  fevered     went P
    Und          Event
    Suruj Dev has come down with a
    fever.

4)  mankhus  jagcas keras
    Mankhu S awoke  went P
    Und      Event
    Mankhu woke up (from sleep).

5)  banThus  bimaar paraa-r-as ker-as
    Banthu S sick C fell       went P
    Und      psUnd  Event
    Banthu has gotten sick.

6)  mira   xand-r-a kera
    Mira S slept    went P
    Und    Event
    Mira fell asleep.
```

3.3b Receptive (-recipient).

+	S	NP	±	C	NP	+	P	VP
	Und	-rec +mover		psUnd	-rec +mov		Event	-recv +mov

1) xess laggia kera
paddy S applied went P
Und Event
The (transplanted) paddy has taken root.

2) xoTTa panja kera
bel-fruit S ripened went P
Und Event
The bel-fruit has gotten ripe.

3) balu ukkia kera
sand S sat went P
Und Event
The sand has settled.

4) DanDa es-r-a kera
stick S broken went P
Und Event
The stick has broken.

5) engghay saaykal haba mokkha
my cycle S air C ate P
Und psUnd Event
My bicycle has bit the dust
(has been ruined).

6) manDi alghem onD-r-a kera
rice S easily adv eaten went P
Und Event
The rice melted in my mouth.

3.4a Di-Receptive (+recipient).

+	IO/O	NP	+	S	NP	±	C	NP	+	P	VP
	psSit	-loc +rec		Und	+mover		psUnd	-rec +mov		Event	+mov

1) manrupas-ge laRki paayda manja kera
to Manrup IO girl S birth C became went P
psSit Und psUnd Event
A daughter has been born to Manrup.

2. raambatii-ge mankhus=hi maya laggia kera
to Rambati IO Mankhu's love S applied went P
psSit Und Event
Rambati has fallen in love with Mankhu.[6]

3) baa:s neeTas-in laggia kera
bamboo S Nate O applied went P
Und psSit Event
The bamboo got Nate (on the foot).[7]

3.4b Di-Receptive (-recipient).

+ S	NP	+ R	NP	± C	NP	+ P	VP
Und	-rec +mover	Sit	+loc	psUnd	-rec +mov	Event	-recv +mov

1) paayha thala=nu gaD-r-a kera
wheel S mud=in R embedded went P
Und Sit Event
The (oxcart) wheel embedded itself in the mud.

2) aas gaDDii=nu khatt-r-as keras
he S ditch=in R fallen went P
Und Sit Event
He has fallen into a ditch.

3) moTar bas=nu Thokar laggia kera
car S bus=in R collision C applied went P
Und Sit psUnd Event
The car ran into a bus.

3.5 Eventive-Transitive.

+ P	VP
Event	+recv-actv +mov

1) joor=see naax-r-a kera
very much adv breathed went P
Event
I got to breathing very heavily.

2) pakka joor=see erx-r-a kera
very very much adv defecated went P
Event
I got the stuffing knocked out of me.

3) alkh-r-a kera
laughed went P
Event
I got to laughing in spite of myself.

3.6 Semi-Receptive-Transitive.

± R/S*	NP	± S	NP	+ P	VP
psSit/ Sit	+loc -loc +rec	psUnd	-rec -mover	Event	+recv-actv -mov

*Two Subjects are not permitted in the same clause.

1) harbar=nu banneT=ma:yya okk-r-a kera
shuffle=in adv bonnet=on R got sat went P
Sit Event
In the shuffle, I got sat down on the bonnet (of the bus).

2) ghaa:sii=ma:yya okk-r-a kera
grass=upon R got sat went P
Sit Event
I sat down on the grass by mistake (I intended to sit here on the bench, but I missed).

3) tangghay=ma:yya amm ecch-r-a kera
his own=upon R water S got splashed went P
psSit psUnd Event
He splashed himself instead.

4) harbar=nu mela kudd-r-a kera
shuffle=in adv fair S got toured went
Sit Event
I made a lightning tour of the fair (because of the press of the crowd).[8]

3.7 Receptive-Transitive.

	S/O	NP		C	NP		P	VP
+	Und	+rec	±	psUnd	-rec -mover	+	Event	+recv-actv +mov

1) mankhus laaw-r-as keras
Mankhu S got struck went P
Und Event
(Somebody) hit Mankhu instead.

2) taan-im caa:y-d-r-as keras
self-emph S was gotten wet went P
Und Event
(Someone) got himself wet instead.

3) sukru bhuul=nu maaral keras
Sukru S mistake=in adv killed went P
Und psUnd Event
(Someone) killed Sukru by mistake (in warfare).

4) iis-in laaw-r-a kera
this one O got struck went P
Und Event
I hit him instead.

5) TaayparaayTar-in laggia kera
typewriter O applied went P
Und Event
I hit the typewriter instead (with a missile).

6) kesari-n naab-r-a kera
kesari (pulse) O threshed went P
Und Event
I threshed the kesari in spite of myself.

3.8a Di-Receptive-Transitive.

+	R/IO	NP	+	S/O	NP	+	P	VP
	Sit/ psSit	+loc/ +rec		Und	+rec		Event	+recv-actv +mov

1) caay=nu marican sa?-taa-r-a kera
tea=in R chili O got put went P
Sit Und Event
I put the chili in the tea by mistake.

2) engghay=ma:yya amRi ecch-r-a kera
my=upon R rice-broth S got splashed went P
Sit Und Event
(Someone) splashed the rice-broth onto me.

3) mankhus-ge mudd-in sed-taa-r-a kera
to Mankhu IO ring O got shown went P
psSit Und Event
I showed the ring to Mankhu instead.

4) raamas-ge bhaa:ys-an ci?-taa-r-a kera
to Ram IO she-buffalo O got given went P
psSit Und Event
I gave the buffalo to Ram instead.

3.9 Intransitive.

+	S	NP	±	C	NP	+	P	VP
	Act	+actor		psUnd	-rec -mover		Event	+actv

1) een cii:xkan
I S wept P
Act Event
I wept.

2) mankhus alkhias
Mankhu S laughed P
Act Event
Mankhu laughed.

3) eem guli bicckam
we S marble C played P
Act psUnd Event
We played marbles.

4) aas injo piTias
he S fish C killed P
Act psUnd Event
He caught some fish.

5) bupaalas kursi kamcas
Bupal S chair C built P
Act psUnd Event
Bupal built a chair.

3.10 Semi-Transitive.

+	S	NP	+	R/O	NP	±	C	NP	+	P	VP
	Act	+actor		Sit/ psSit	+loc		psUnd	-rec -mover		Event	+actv

1) een cawkii=ma:yya beDrkan ciccan
I S bed=on R laid down gave P
Act Sit Event
I laid down on the bed.

2) mãnkhus neeTas=ma:yya ukkias ciccas
Mankhu S Nate=upon R sat gave P
Act Sit Event
Mankhu sat down on top of Nate.

3) bisunas samuca-dunia-n kuddias
Bisun S world O toured P
Act Sit Event
Bisun made a world tour.

4) een huu Tangkii=nu injo sajjkan
I S that pond=in R fish C put P
Act Sit psUnd Event
I stocked that pond with fish.

5) suruj deebas engghay=ma:yya amm ecchcas
Suruj Dev S my=upon R water C splashed P
Act psSit psUnd Event
Suruj Dev splashed me with water.

6) een mankhus=sangge geem bicckan
I S Mankhu=with R football C played P
Act psSit psUnd Event
I played football with Mankhu.

7) saawkhis banThus-sangge kuddias
Saukhi S Banthu=with R toured P
Act psSit Event
Saukhi travelled with Banthu.

8) raam parsaadas engga-n alkhias ciccas
Ram Prasad S me O laughed gave P
Act psSit Event
Ram Prasad ridiculed me.

3.11a Transitive (Event +movement).

+	S	NP	+	O	NP	±	C	NP	+	P	VP
	Act	+actor		Und	+rec +mover		psUnd	-rec -mover		Event	+actv +mov

1) parnabati dudhi-n biijia
Parnabati S milk O spilled P
Act Und Event
Parnabati spilled the milk.

2) mankhus mann-an nukcas
Mankhu S tree O shook P
Act Und Event
Mankhu shook the tree.

3) huus DanDa-n essas
he S stick O broke P
Act Und Event
He broke the stick.

4) aas guDDi-n carrias
he S kite O tore P
Act Und Event
He tore the kite.

5) manrupas engga-n manDi on-taa-c-as
Manrup S me O rice C fed P
Act Und psUnd Event
Manrup fed me rice.

3.11b Transitive (Event -movement).

+	S	NP	+	O	NP	±	C	NP	+	P	VP
	Act	+actor		Und	+rec		psUnd	-rec -mover		Event	+actv

1) naraaynas boora-n ceDDas
Narayan S sack O carried P
Act Und Event
Narayan carried the sack.

2) mankhus goTe manDi-n onDas ciccas
Mankhu S all rice O ate gave P
Act Und Event
Mankhu ate up all the rice.

3) aas xeel-an assias ciccas
he S drum O played gave P
Act Und Event
He played the drums.

4) dharmus kesari-n naabias
Dharmu S kesari (pulse) threshed P
Act Und Event
Dharmu threshed the kesari.

5) nirmala TaTTi-n nisgia
Nirmala S wall O mudded P
Act Und Event
Nirmala mudded the walls (of the house).

6) aa alla engga-n xaccia cicca
that dog S me O bit gave P
Act Und Event
That dog bit me!

7) aas engghay ghaRi-n xaDDas le hoccas
He S my watch O stole took P
Act Und Event
He stole my watch.

3.12a Di-Transitive (Event +movement).

+	S	NP	+	IO/R	NP	+	O	NP	+	P	VP
	Act	+actor		psSit	+rec +mover		Und	+rec		Event	+actv +mov

1) manrupas baTidaarar-ge xess-an xaTTias ciccas
Manrup S to share-croppers IO paddy O distributed gave P
Act psSit Und Event
Manrup distributed the paddy to the sharecroppers.

2) manrupas tanggda-n raamas-sangge binjias ciccas
Manrup S his daughter O Ram=with R betrothed went P
Act Und psSit Event
Manrup betrothed his daughter to Ram in marriage.

3) een mankhus-ge ghoro-n biisias ciccas
I S to Mankhu IO horse O sold gave P
Act psSit Und Event
I sold my horse to Mankhu.

4) een banThus-ge muddi-n eedkan cicckan
I S to Banthu IO ring O showed gave P
Act psSit Und Event
I showed the rings to Banthu.

3.12b Di-Transitive (Und +recipient, Event -movement).

+ S ¦ NP	+ O ¦ NP	+ R ¦ NP	+ P ¦ VP
Act ¦ +actor	Und ¦ +rec	Sit ¦ +loc	Event ¦ +actv

1) bidulas injo-n Tangkii=nu sajjas
Bidul S fish O pond=in R put P
Act Und Sit Event
Bidul put the fish in the pond.

2) een xeer-an bas=nu lacckan
I S chicken O bus=on R loaded P
Act Und Sit Event
I loaded the chickens on the bus.

3) een mankhus-in kaTmaanDu tayykan
I S Mankhu O Kathmandu R sent P
Act Und Sit Event
I sent Mankhu to Kathmandu.

3.12c Di-Transitive (psSit +beneficiary, Event -movement).

+ S ¦ NP	+ IO ¦ NP	+ O/C ¦ NP	+ P ¦ VP
Act ¦ +Act	psSit ¦ -loc +ben'y	Und ¦ +rec	Event ¦ +actv

1) een mankhus-ge paysa cicckan
I S to Mankhu IO money C gave P
Act psSit Und Event
I gave money to Mankhu.

2) een mankhus-ge paysa-n cicckan
I S to Mankhu IO money O gave P
Act psSit Und Event
I gave Mankhu his money back.

3.13a Intransitive-Receptive (Event +receptive).

+ S ¦ NP	± C/R ¦ NP	+ P ¦ VP
Act ¦ +actor +rec	psUnd/ psSit ¦ -rec	Event ¦ +actv +recv

1) mankhus inj-r-as——
Mankhu S put out hand-rv P
Act Event
Mankhu put out his hand.

2) puni isum hass-r-as
Puni S oil C rubbed-rv P
Act psUnd Event
Puni rubbed herself down with oil.

3) neeTas taan-im laaw-r-as le hoccas
Nate S self-emph C struck-rv took P
Act psUnd Event
Nate hit himself.

4) banThus xaa:s-r-as
Banthu S scratched-rv P
Act Event
Banthu scratched himself.

5) een emckan
I S bathed P
Act Event
I bathed.

6) abRar apne apne=nu laawc-nakhr-ar
They S self self=in R struck-rcp P
Act psSit Event
They struck one another.

3.13b Intransitive-Receptive (Event -receptive).

	S	NP		C/IO	NP/cl		P	VP
+	Act	+actor +mover	+	psUnd psSit	-mover	+	Event	+actv +mov

1) barham deebas coocas keras
Barham Dev S arose went P
Barham Dev has gotten up (from sleep).

2) mankhus barhaaman rup marjas keras
Mankhu S Brahman form C became went P
Act psUnd Event
Mankhu has assumed the form of a Brahman.

3) sukrus manDi onaa-ge ukkias keras
Sukru S rice to eat IO sat went P
Act psSit (embed) Event
Sukru has taken his seat for the meal.

4) barham deebas moTarsaaykal hak?aa-ge sikh-r-as keras
Barham Dev S motorcycle IO to drive learned went P
Act psSit (embed) Event
Barham Dev has learned how to drive a motorcycle.

3.14a Semi-Transitive-Receptive (Event +receptive).

	S	NP		R	NP		P	VP
+	Act	+actor +rec	+	Sit/ psSit	+loc/ -loc	+	Event	+actv +recv

1) aas dewaal=nu oThngaa-r-as
he S wall=on R leaned-rv P
Act Sit Event
He leaned himself against the wall.

2) aas baajaar cal-r-as
he S town R moved-rv P
Act Sit Event
He is on his way to town.

3) bhaa:ys kamhaa=nu ragdaa-r-a
she-buffalo S post=on R rubbed-rv P
Act Sit Event
The buffalo rubbed herself on the post.

4) abRar engghay=sangge mil-r-ar
they S my=with R mix-rv P
Act psSit Event
They associated themselves with me.

3.14b Semi-Transitive-Receptive (Event -receptive).

	S	NP		R	NP		C	NP		P	VP
+	Act	+actor +mover	+	Sit/ psSit	+loc/ -loc	+	psUnd	-mover	+	Event	+actv +mov

1) suruj deebas mann=ki:yya keras
Suruj Dev S tree=under R went
Act Sit Event
Suruj Dev went underneath the tree.

2) taam ma:yya argiar
selves S up R climbed P
Act Sit Event
Together they climbed up (the tree).

3) upendras tanggio-tambar=gusan bhonggas keras
Upendra S his mother his father=with R ran went P
Act Sit Event
Upendra ran to his parents.

4) aas baajaar cala keras
he S town R went went P
Act Sit Event
He has gone to town.

5) abRar xoTTa mann-an kaTTiar---
they S bel-gruit tree O passed P
Act Sit Event
They passed the bel-fruit tree.

6) een mankhus=sangge jhagRa lakkan kerkan
I S Mankhu=with R quarrel C applied went P
Act psSit psUnd Event
I've got it in for Mankhu.

3.15a Transitive-Receptive (Event +receptive).

+	S	NP	+	C/O	NP	+	P	VP
	Act	+actor +rec		Und	+rec		Event	+actv +rec

1) sukrus cuTTi baag-r-as
Sukru S hair C combed-rv P
Act Und Event
Sukru combed his hair.

2) een xeDDa-n nooRh-r-kan
I S foot O washed-rv P
Act Und Event
I washed my feet.

3) een dahri khanD-r-kan
I S beard C cut P
Act Und Event
I shaved.

4) een pall-an manjackan
I S tooth O cleaned P
Act Und Event
I cleaned my teeth.

3.15b Transitive-Receptive (Event -receptive).

+	S	NP	+	C	NP	+	P	VP
	Act	+actor +mover		Und	+rec		Event	+actv +mov

1) sarkaar engghay dhaan-maal laggia kera
government S my possessions C applied went P
Act Und Event
The government has confiscated my possessions.

2) een xekkh-an nooRh-r-kan kerkan
I S hand O washed-rv went P
Act Und Event
I have washed my hands (in order to eat my meal; therefore, I can't come to do more mudding of the wall just now).

3) pancaayat nimhay xall-ukhRi laggia kera
Panchayat S your agriculture C applied went P
Act Und Event
The local government has taken over your property rights.

3.16a Di-Transitive-Receptive (Event +receptive).

+	S	NP	+	O	NP	+	R	NP	+	P	VP
	Act	+actor +rec		Und	+rec		Sit	+loc		Event	+actv +recv

1) aa kherha bayyan xeexel=nu ragdaa-r-a
that rabbit S mouth O ground=on R rubbed
Act Und Sit Event
That rabbit rubbed its mouth on the ground (in its frenzy to be rid of the irritation caused by eating noxious fruit).

3.16b Di-Transitive-Receptive (Event -receptive).

+	S	NP	+	IO/R	NP	+	O	NP	+	P	VP
	Act	+actor +mover		Sit/ psSit	+loc/ -loc		Und	+rec		Event	+actv +mov

1) mankhus puni-ge kacia-n hoccas keras
Mankhu S to Puni IO sickle O took went P
Act psSit Und Event
Mankhu has taken the sickle to Puni.

2) aas xall=tara gaay-bhaa:ys-an hoccas keras
He S field=toward R cattle O took went P
Act Sit Und Event
He has gone to the fields with the cattle.

C. Derived Patterns.

A clause which belongs inherently to one of the cells of the transitive subsystem displayed in Figure 11 may be moved out of that cell into various other cells of the system by a given set of rules. There are three kinds of derivation rules applying to inherent patterns in Dhangar-Kurux: 1) rules that add an Actor-Causer, 2) a rule that deletes the Actor, and 3) a rule that shifts from event to state.

1. Derivational Rules.

The specific rules required in order to induce derivation from one cell to another of the transitivity system are as follows:

1.1 Role-displacement rule.

This rule adds an Actor-Causer and displaces the original Actor to the grammatical periphery of the derived clause. By grammatical periphery is meant that part of a clause which contains no primary roles. Normally, the displaced original Actor is elided because the information it bears has no primary relevance for the meaning of the derived clause. (In this way, it is analogous to the deleted Actor of passive clauses. Such Actors may occur in the grammatical periphery of the derived passive clause as agents, but they are normally elided, and the information they bear has no primary relevance for the meaning of the derived clause.) The following pair of clauses illustrates the application of the role-displacement rule:

T een eRpa-n kamckan
I S house O built P
Act Und Event
I built the house.

dT mankhus eRpa-n kam-taa-c-as (engghay=paahi)
Mankhu S house O build-cv P (my=by) (A)
Act-Cs Und Event (Ag)
Mankhu had the house built (by me).

1.2 Role-transposition rule.

This rule adds an Actor-Causer and transposes the original Actor to Undergoer role position in the derived clause. The following pair of clauses illustrates the application of this rule:

I een kursi kamckan
I S chair C built P
Act psUnd Event
I built a chair.

dT mankhus engga-n kursi kam-taa-c-as
Mankhu S me O chair C build-cv P
Act-Cs Und psUnd Event
Mankhu had me build a chair.

If there is a complement (=pseudo-Undergoer) in the original clause, it remains as a complement in the derived clause, but with the added difference that in the derived clause it is an embedded complement. (Complement embedding has not been noted in the examples cited in this paper with the exception of a few examples in which the complement is a pseudo-Site purpose clause, as in aas manDi onaa-ge ukkias keras 'he has seated himself for the meal.' In this example we have marked the pseudo-Site manDi onaa-ge 'in order to eat rice' as 'psSit (embed).')

1.3 Actor-deletion rule.

This rule deletes an Actor from an original Transitive clause, as in the following examples:

T bidulas xess-an xossas
Bidul S paddy O reaped P
Act Und Event
Bidul reaped paddy.

dR xess xooy-r-a (bidulas=xekkh=ti)
paddy S reaped-pv P (Bidul's=hand=by) (A)
Und Event (Ag)
The paddy got reaped (by Bidul).

1.4 Shifting rule.

This rule adds the stative auxiliary ra?a 'to be' to the verb phrase with the result that the derived clause shifts to the state side of the transitivity system, as in the following examples:

T suruj deebas meeg-an emtaacas
Suruj Dev S Meg O bathed P
Act Und Event
Suruj Dev bathed Meg.

dS suruj deebas meeg-an emtaac-ka ra?das
Suruj Dev S Meg O bathed is P
Sta Und Event State
Suruj has already given Meg a bath.

2. What constitutes a derivation in Dhangar-Kurux?

The term 'derivation' as used in this paper refers to patterned sememic change resulting from regular changes in the role structures of inherent clauses. It is not used here to refer to morphological changes in the verb phrase. That is, we are not interested in treating the derivation-potential of a given clause as equivalent to the morphological derivation-potential of its verb. Verb morphology is to a greater or lesser extent a function of grammatical focus (surface structure) as well as a function of grammatical role (deep structure). To the extent that changes in verb morphology do not correspond one to one with changes in constituent role structure, to that extent changes in verb morphology are not equatable with what we refer to here as derivational change. We can illustrate the difference between a derivational change and a morphological change as follows:

1a) T naraaynas DanDa-n essas
Narayan S stick O broke P
Act Und Event
Narayan broke the stick.

*1b) *dR DanDa es-*r*-a
stick S broke P
Und Event
The stick broke.

2a) T naraaynas xess-an xossas
Narayan S paddy O reaped P
Act Und Event
Narayan reaped the paddy.

2b) dR xess xooy-*r*-a (naraaynas=xekkh=ti)
paddy S reaped-pv P (Narayan's=hand=by) (A)
Und Event (Ag)
The paddy got reaped (by Narayan).

The asterisk (*) in the margin before example 1b means that the clause *DanDa es-r-a* is *not* derived from the clauses shown in example 1a. The verb *es-r-a* is, however, morphologically derived from the stem of the verb which is shown in example 1a (*es-* the basic stem). But the clause exemplified in 2b *is* derived from the clause of example 2a, and the morphology of its verb *xooy-r-a* is of course also derived from the non-past stem of the verb exemplified in 2a. The clause 1b is not derived--as a clause--from the clause 1a because 1b is itself an inherent clause within the transitivity system. The 'stick' in 1b was not broken by an Actor that has been deleted. Rather the 'stick' broke itself. The stick possesses inherently the power to break quite apart from any human or divine agency--that is, it is a 'mover' in relation to the verb 'break.' That this is so is indicated by the capacity for the clause in 1b to be marked by the reflexive pronoun *taan*, *DanDa taan-im es-r-a* 'the stick broke by itself.' In addition, the clause in 1b cannot take an agentive phrase in the periphery as the clause in 2b does. In comparing 1b with 2b, it is seen by way of contrast that 2b does take an agentive phrase in the periphery. Furthermore, 2b does not have a potential for taking the reflexive pronoun *taan* (except in facetious speech.

In spite of the fact, then, that the clause in 1b is characterized by derived verb morphology, it is not itself a derived clause. It is an inherent Receptive clause, inherent Receptive clauses being defined as those in which the Subject-Undergoer is a 'mover'--not a (passive) receiver.

Many Transitive-Receptive-subset clauses are characterized by verbs having derived morphology which for other reasons are not treated here as instances of derived clause patterns. For example, the clause *een cuTTi baag-r-kan*, 'I combed my hair' contains the derivational affix -*r*-

in its verb, but is not itself a derived clause because its would-be original does not manifest the same referential structure as itself. Hence, in *een* *cuTTi-n* *baagkan* 'I combed (somebody else's) hair'--a would-be original clause--the real-world referent is someone else, not 'me,' as in the would-be derived clause. (The derivational affix -*r*- does, however, have to be treated as diagnostic of a systemic contrast dividing Transitive from Transitive-Receptive patterns. See Section B-2.13 for contrastive features.

Most, if not all Receptive-Transitive-subset clauses contain verbs having derived morphology which cannot be treated as diagnostic of derived clause patterns. For example, the clause *mankhus-in* *laaw-r-a*, '(I) struck Mankhu instead!' contains a derivational affix -*r*- in its verb, but is not itself a derived clause because its would-be original does not manifest the same grammatical role structure as itself. Hence in the prefabricated would-be original clause, *een* *mankhus-in* *laawckan*, 'I struck Mankhu,' *een* 'I' is the Actor. But in the supposedly derived clause given above, *een* 'I'--which cannot be made lexically explicit by an agentive or any other type of phrase--is semantically present as *non-Actor*. That is, the speaker in saying *mankhus-in* *laaw-r-a* disclaims that he was an Actor in relation to the action denoted by the verb. In derived Receptive clauses, however, the speaker does not deny Actor status to the deleted Actor. Indeed, there was an Actor, and his action was deliberate, but so far as the speaker is concerned, information pertaining to the Actor--if in fact he knows who he was--is not pertinent to his discourse. (The derivational affix -*r*- does, however, have to be treated as diagnostic of a systemic contrast dividing Receptive from Receptive-Transitive patterns. See Section B-2.14 for discussion of contrastive features.)

In summary, a pattern is said to be derived if the referential and sememic role structures of the original clause are preserved in it. This does not mean that the lexical structure of an original clause must be preserved in the derived clause. There are a few instances in our data where lexical structure gets changed when proceeding from an original to a derived clause. For example, the passive derivation of *een* *mankhusin* *laawc-kan* 'I struck Mankhu' is *mankhus* *maar* *mokkhas* 'Mankhu got struck' (literally, 'Mankhu ate a hit'). The agentive phrase, *engghay* *xekkh=ti* 'by me' is normally not expressed. In all respects (other than lexical) this clause qualifies as a derived passive from an original Transitive clause *een* *mankhusin* *laawckan*. The referential structure has been preserved in the derivation (*maar* *mokkh*- refers to the same real-world entity as *laawc*-, that is, 'strike'), and so has the role structure (Actor, Undergoer corresponds with peripheral Agent, Undergoer).

The causative derivation adds an Actor-Causer to an original clause that had no Actor-Causer. This may be interpreted to mean that the causative is not truly a derivation since the original role structure has been altered by this addition. However, our definition of what constitutes a derivation allows for additional information (including an additional role component) in the derived clause provided that that information does not trigger changes in the referential and role structures of the underlying clause to the extent that they cannot be said to have been preserved across the derivation boundary. If a clause, suspected on verb-morphology grounds of being a derived causative, does not preserve underlying referential and role structures intact, it does not qualify as a derivation. For example, een banThus-in em-taa-c-kan 'I bathed Banthu' (literally--I caused Banthu to bathe) pretends to be a derived causative clause by virtue of the causative morpheme -taa. The would-be original clause is banthus emcas, 'Banthu bathed.' But een 'I' is not an Actor-Causer in the supposed derived clause, but simply an Actor, and banthus-in is not an original Actor that has been transposed to Undergoer via the causative derivational affix -taa-, but rather, simply an Undergoer. Hence, in een banthus-in em-taa-c-kan, 'I bathed Banthu,' Banthu did not bathe himself as a result of my causing him to do so; to the contrary, 'I' bathed him. So -taa- is pseudo-causative and the clause is an exponent of the inherent Transitive type.

3. Derived Patterns.

For each clause pattern for which formulas and examples were given in Section B-3. a tree of derivations will be shown. The applicability or non-applicability of certain rules (Section C-1.1) will be regarded as evidence for contrast between tree diagrams and thus further evidence for contrast between the patterns themselves.

The rules which apply to inherent patterns are given in the left-hand margin beside the trees. The role-displacement and role-transposition rules since they add Actor-Causers are also labelled 'causative' (cv). The Actor-deletion rule is also labelled 'passive' (pv), and the shifting rule is labelled 'stative' (sv).

Conventions Used. Parentheses enclose the inherent or basic type at the top of the tree. Numbers refer to the examples given below the trees. Since all non-stative derivations (with certain exceptions noted below) may themselves be recycled through the shifting rule to the state side of the transitivity system, we have not indicated this in the trees. The shifting rule may be applied automatically to any non-stative node in any tree. In general, it does not appear that any of the other rules may apply to non-stative nodes—nodes which are themselves the result of rule applications. In other words, recycling through rule application is restricted to application of the shifting rule--and this rule applies automatically to any non-stative node in any tree (with the exceptions noted below).

The abbreviations for most of the cells have been introduced in Figure 11. But a few abbreviations not used there have been introduced in the tree diagrams for derived Stative-Receptive-subset clauses: D-R = Descriptive-Receptive, SSR = Semi-Stative-Receptive, S-R = Stative-Receptive, and DSR = Di-Stative-Receptive.

There may be derivational rules over and above the four we have listed here that play an important part in describing the transitivity relationships among clause patterns in Dhangar-Kurux. We have not included a discussion of any of these here. A tense-change rule might be one which we could include upon further analysis of clause patterns.

Receptive-subset. The causative derivation is very restricted, if indeed, it applies at all to this subset. In general, the verbal affixes -*taa*- and -*d*-, when they do apply to Receptive-subset verbs, are pseudo-causative in the resulting clause. So for example, *een caa:ykan kerkan*, 'I got wet,' an inherent Receptive-cell clause, when pseudo-causativized may become *aas enggan caa:y-d-as*, 'he got me wet,' in which *aas* 'he' is not an Actor-Causer, but simply an Actor. That is, 'he' didn't make me get wet, 'he' himself got me wet, that is he wet me. (While it is true that 'wet' describes an effect pertaining to the Undergoer *enggan* 'me,' and that 'me' is a 'mover' with respect to the process denoted by the verb, it does not follow that 'he' is a causer of this process any more than it does that 'he' is a causer in *aas Dan-Dan essas*, 'he broke the stick.' That is, the semantic feature relationships are exactly the same in both clauses: Actor = +actor, Undergoer = +recipient, +mover, and Event = +active, +movement. For the present we choose to assign to *aas* 'he' in the pseudo-causative clause, the semantic feature specification of +actor, rather than +actor, +causer.) Hence, *aas enggan caa:y-d-as* is an inherent Transitive clause (+movement subtype).

Divine causation does, of course, take place in most any situation that encludes as an inherent Receptive clause. God causes it to rain, he causes someone to get wet, he causes someone to fall asleep, and to fall in love--all are permitted utterances in Dhangar-Kurux. But with divine causation, the Undergoers of the underlying Receptive clauses may be viewed as bearing the semantic feature specification +actor. This appears to be so because the contrast between underlying Undergoers and Actors, when divinely caused to do something, gets neutralized. What from the point of view of a human being can be distinguished as entities that have the power to act and entities that do not have the power to act, can, from the divine perspective (or rather from human reasoning with respect to the divine perspective), merge conceptually into a single semantic category--+actor. From the divine perspective all entities may have equal ability to act. On the reverse view, from the divine perspective all entities may have equal *inability* to act--making a single semantic category which could be labelled -actor (conversely, +mover). In either case, divine causation is difficult to handle within the transitivity system as defined here once it is granted that divine beings, or at least some of them, as represented in Dhangar religious thought, stand in the same relation to underlying Undergoers as they do to underlying Actors. Hence, we have not entered a node in the tree diagrams for the Receptive-subset of clause patterns to represent derived clauses that might result from the verbalization of divine causation.

In conclusion, it appears--and this remains a tentative evaluation of the situation in Dhangar-Kurux--that causation is restricted to Active (Transitive) clauses.

3.1a Eventive (+movement).

No derivations--not even the shifting rule applies.

3.1b Eventive (-movement).

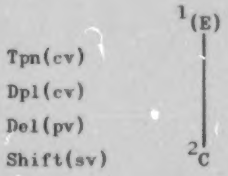

Figure 12. Derivations of the Eventive (-movement) Clause.

1) cee:p possa
rain S rained P
psUnd Event
It rained.

2) cee:p poss-ki ra?i
rain S rained is P
psUnd Event State
It has rained (two or three times this year).

3.2a Semi-Receptive (+recipient).

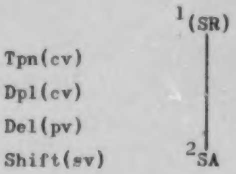

Figure 13. Derivations of the Semi-Receptive (+recipient) Clause.

1) aas-ge kiiRa laggia kera
to him IO hunger S applied went P
psSit psUnd Event
He has gotten hungry.

2) aas-ge kiiRa lak-ki ra?i
to him IO hunger S applied is P
psSit psUnd Event State
He is hungry.

3.2b Semi-Receptive (-recipient).

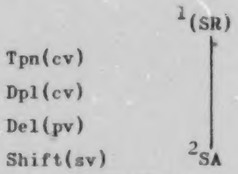
1(SR)
Tpn(cv)
Dpl(cv)
Del(pv)
Shift(sv)
2SA

Figure 14. Derivations of the Semi-Receptive (-recipient) Clause.

1) eRpaa=nu Thanka khatt-r-a kera
house=in R lightning S fell went P
Sit psUnd Event
Lightning has struck the house.

2) eRpaa=nu Thanka khatt-r-ki ra?i
house=in Sit lightning S fallen is P
Sit psUnd Event State
The house has been struck by lightning.

3.3a Receptive (+recipient).

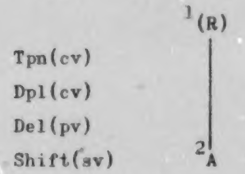
1(R)
Tpn(cv)
Dpl(cv)
Del(pv)
Shift(sv)
2A

Figure 15. Derivations of the Receptive (+recipient) Clause.

1) aas ca:yyas keras
He S got wet went P
Und Event
He has gotten wet.

2) aas ca:yy-ka ra?das
he S gotten wet is P
Und Event State
He is wet.

3.3b Receptive (-recipient).

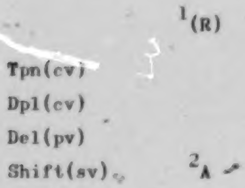
1(R)
Tpn(cv)
Dpl(cv)
Del(pv)
Shift(sv)
2A

Figure 16. Derivations of the Receptive (-recipient) Clause.

1) DanDa es-r-a kera
stick S broke went P
Und Event
The stick has broken.

2) DanDa es-r-ki ra?i
stick S broken is P
Und Event State
The stick is broken.

3.4a Di-Receptive (+recipient).

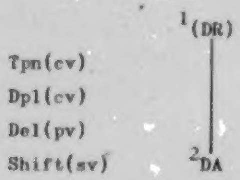
1(DR)
Tpn(cv)
Dpl(cv)
Del(pv)
Shift(sv)
2DA

Figure 17. Derivations of the Di-Receptive (+recipient) Clause.

1) raambati-ge mankhus=hi maya laggia kera
to Rambati IO Mankhu's love S applied went P
psSit Und Event
Rambati has fallen in love with Mankhu.

2) raambati-ge mankhus=hi maya lak-ki ra?i
to Rambati IO Mankhu's love S applied is P
psSit Und Event State
Rambati is in love with Mankhu.

3.4b Di-Receptive (-recipient).

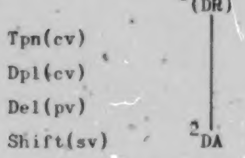

Figure 18. Derivations of the Di-Receptive (-recipient) Clause.

1) paayha thala=nu gaD-r-a kera
wheel S mud=in R embedded went P
Und Sit Event
The (oxcart) wheel embedded itself in the mud.

2) paayha thala=nu gaD-r-ki ra?i
wheel S mud=in R embedded is P
Und Sit Event State
The (oxcart) wheel is embedded in the mud.

Receptive-Transitive subset. There are no derivations for clause patterns of this set (cell numbers 5-8 Figure 11)--not even the shifting rule applies. This incapacity for stativization is a feature which contrasts this subset of clauses with the Receptive-subset. We give no tree diagrams for the Receptive-Transitive-subset.

Transitive-subset. Clauses of this subset show the maximum derivation potential of any subset within the transitivity subsystem with the Transitive (-movement) subtype showing applications for all derivational rules except role-transposition.

3.9 Intransitive.

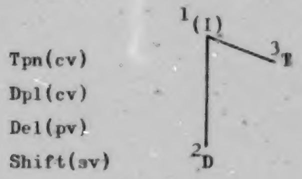

Figure 19. Derivations of the Intransitive Clause.

1) mankhus alkhias
Mankhu S laughed P
Act Event
Mankhu laughed.

2) mankhus alkh-ka ra?das
Mankhu S laughed is P
Act Event State
Mankhu has laughed (a lot today).

3) een mankhus-in alkh-taa-c-kan
I S mankhu O laugh-cv P
Act-Cs Und Event
I made Mankhu laugh.

3.10 Semi-Transitive.

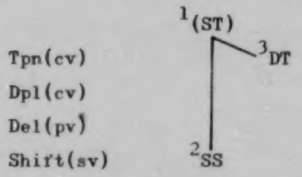

Figure 20. Derivations of the Semi-Transitive Clause.

1) ghoRsavaaras tangghay bicchonaa=nu biDrias
horse-keeper S his own bed-roll=in R laid down P
Act Sit Event
The horse-keeper laid down on his bed.

2) ghoRsavaaras tangghay bicchonaa=nu beDr-ka ra?das
horse-keeper S his own bed-roll=in R laid down is P
Act Sit Event State
The horse-keeper has laid down on his bed.

3) mira ghoRsavaaras-in aas=hi tangghay bicchonaa=nu beDr-taa-c-as
Mira S horse-keeper O his his own bedroll=in lay down-cv P
Act-Cs Und Sit Event
Mira had the horse-keeper lay down on his bed.

3.11a Transitive (Event +movement).

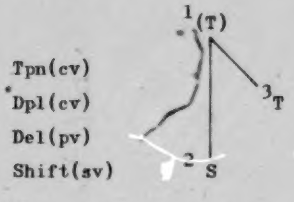

Figure 21. Derivations of the Transitive (Event +movement) Clause.

1) mankhus DanDa-n essas
Mankhu S stick O broke P
Act Und Event
Mankhu broke the stick.

2) mankhus DanDa-n ess-ka ra?das
Mankhu S stick O broken is P
Act Und Event State
Mankhu has broken the stick.

3) een DanDa-n ess-taa-c-kan
I S stick O break-cv P
Act-Cs Und Event
I had the stick broken.

3.11 Transitive (Event -movement).

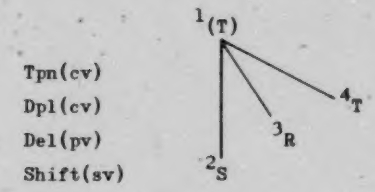

Figure 22. Derivations of the Transitive (Event -movement) Clause.

1) een kesari-n naabkan
I S kesari (pulse) O threshed P
Act Und Event
I threshed the kesari.

2) een kesari-n naab-ka ra?dan
I S kesari O threshed am P
Act Und Event State
I have threshed the kesari.

3) kesari naab-r-a kera
Kesari S threshed-pv went P
Und Event
The kesari has been threshed.

4) mankhus kesari-n naab-taa-c-as
Mankhu S kesari O threshed-cv P
Act-Cs Und Event
Mankhu had the desari threshed.

3.12a Di-Transitive (Event +movement)

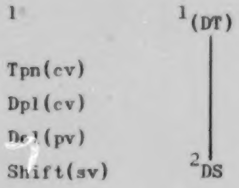

Figure 23. Derivations of the Di-Transitive (Event +movement) Clause.

1) manrupas tanggda-n raamas=sangge binjias
Manrup S his daughter O Ram=with R betrothed P
Act Und psSit Event
Manrup betrothed his daughter to Ram in marriage.

2) manrupas tanggda-n raamas=sangge binj-ka ra?das
Manrup S his daughter O Ram=with R betrothed is P
Act Und psSit Event State
Manrup has betrothed his daughter to Ram in marriage.

3.12b Di-Transitive (Und +recipient, Event -movement).

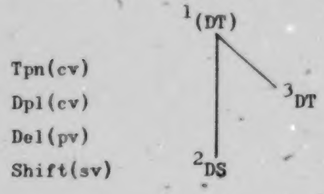

Figure 24. Derivations of the Di-Transitive (Und +recipient, Event -movement) Clause.

1) bidulas injo-n Tangkii=nu sajjas
Bidul S fish O pond=in R put P
Act Und Sit Event
Bidul put the fish in the pond.

2) bidulas injo-n tangkii=nu sajj-ka ra?das
Bidul S fish O pond=in R put is P
Act Und Sit Event State
Bidul has put the fish in the pond.

3) een injo-n tangkii=nu sa?-taa-c-kan
I S fish O pond=in R put-cv P
Act-Cs Und Sit Event
I had the fish put in the tank.

3.12c Di-Transitive (psSit +beneficiary, Event -movement).

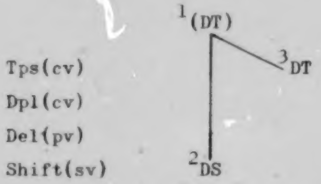

Figure 25. Di-Transitive (psSit +beneficiary, Event -movement) Clause.

1) een mankhus-ge paysa cicckan
I S to Mankhu IO money C gave P
Act psSit Und Event
I gave money to Mankhu.

2) een mankhus-ge paysa cicc-ka ra?dan
I S to Mankhu IO money C gave am P
Act psSit Und Event State
I have given money to Mankhu.

3) naraaynas engghay guste=ki paysa cii-taa-c-as
Narayan S my with=from R money C give-cv P
Act-Cs psSit Und Event
Narayan had me give money.

Transitive-Receptive-subset. In general, two subtypes of Transitive-Receptive clause patterns may be distinguished on the basis of differing derivation potential: one in which the Event is semantically +receptive, and the other in which the Event is semantically -receptive. These labels may be a bit misleading in the way we have used them because +receptive actually means that the Actors of such clauses are semantically +recipient, and -receptive actually means that the Actors of these clauses is -recipient but +mover. These details are noted, however, in the formulas for Transitive-Receptive-subset clauses in Section B-3.

3.13a Intransitive-Receptive (Event +receptive).

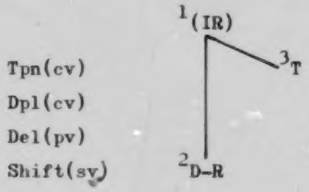

Figure 26. Derivations of the Intransitive-Receptive (Event +receptive) Clause.

1) puni isum hass-r-a.
Puni S oil C rubbed-rv P
Act psUnd Event
Puni rubbed herself down with oil.

2) puni isum hass-r-ki ra?i
Puni S oil C rubbed is P
Act psUnd Event State
Puni has rubbed herself down with oil.

3) een puni-n isum hass-r-taa-c-kan
I S Puni O oil C rub-rv-cv P
Act-Cs Und psUnd Event
I got Puni to rub herself down with oil.

3.13b Intransitive-Receptive (Event -receptive).

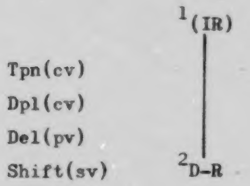

Figure 27. Derivations of the Intransitive-Receptive (Event -receptive) Clause.

1) aas manDi onaa-ge ukkias keras
he S rice to eat IO sat went P
Act psSit (embed) Event
He has seated himself for the meal.

2) aas manDi onaa-ge ukk-ka ra?das
he S rice to eat IO sat went P
Act psSit (embed) Event
He has seated himself for the meal.

3.14a Semi-Transitive-Receptive (Event +receptive).

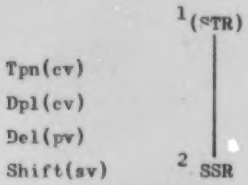

Figure 28. Derivations of the Semi-Transitive-Receptive (Event +receptive) Clause.

1) een dewaal=nu oThngaa-r-kan
I S wall=in R leaned-rv P
Act Sit Event
I leaned myself against the wall.

2) een dewaal=nu oThngaa-r-ka ra?dan
I S wall=in R leaned-rv am P
Act Sit Event State
I have leaned myself against the wall.

3.14b Semi-Transitive-Receptive (Event -receptive).

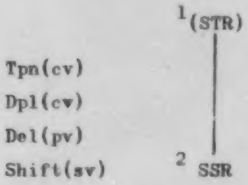

Figure 29. Derivations of the Semi-Transitive-Receptive (Event -receptive) Clause.

1) mankhus mann=ma:yya keras
Mankhu S tree=up R went P
Act Sit Event
Mankhu went up the tree.

2) mankhus mann=ma:yya ker-ka ra?das
Mankhu S tree=up R gone is P
Act Sit Event State
Mankhu has gone up the tree.

1) een mankhus=sangge jhagRa lakkan kerkan
I S Mankhu=with R quarrel C applied went P
Act psSit psUnd Event
I've got it in for Mankhu.

2) een mankhus=sangge jhagRa lak-ka ra?dan
I S Mankhu=with R quarrel C applied am P
Act psSit psUnd Event State
I don't get along with Mankhu.

3.15a Transitive-Receptive (Event +receptive).

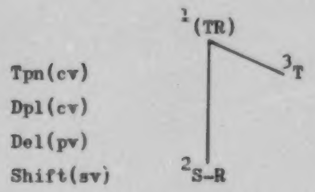

Figure 30. Derivations of the Transitive-Receptive (Event +receptive) Clause.

1) mankhus xeDD-an nooRh-r-as
Mankhu S foot O washed-rv P
Act Und Event
Mankhu washed his feet.

2) mankhus xeDD-an nooRh-r-ka ra?das
Mankhu S foot O washed-rv is P
Act Und Event State
Mankhu has washed his feet.

3) een mankhus-in xeDD-an nooRh-r-taa-c-kan
I S Mankhu O foot O wash-rv-cv P
Act Und embed Event
I got Mankhu to wash his feet.

3.15b Transitive-Receptive (Event -receptive).

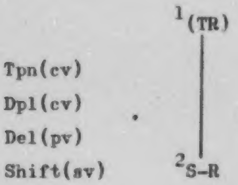

Figure 31. Derivations of the Transitive-Receptive (Event -receptive) Clause.

1)

sarkaar	engghay	dhaan-maal	laggia	kera
government S	my	possessions C	applied	went P
Act	Und		Event	

The government has confiscated my possessions.

2)

sarkaar	engghay	dhaan-maal	lak-ki	ra?i
government S	my	possessions C	applied	isP
Act	Und		Event	State

The government owns all I have.

3.16a Di-Transitive-Receptive (Event +receptive).

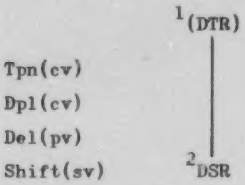

Figure 32. Di-Transitive-Receptive (Event +receptive) Clause.

1)

kherha	bayy-an	xeexel=nu	ragdaa-r-a
rabbit S	mouth O	ground=on R	rubbed-rv P
Act	Und	Sit	Event

The rabbit rubbed its mouth on the ground.

2)

kherha	bayy-an	xeexel=nu	ragdaa-r-ki	ra?i
rabbit S	mouth O	ground=on R	rubbed	is P
Act	Und	Sit	Event	State

The rabbit has rubbed its mouth on the ground.

3.16b Di-Transitive-Receptive (Event -receptive).

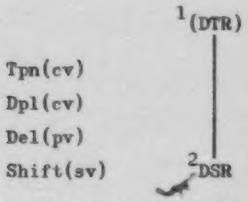

Figure 33. Derivations of the Di-Transitive-Receptive (Event -receptive) Clause.

1) bidulas puni-ge kacia-n hoccas keras
Bidul S to Puni IO sickle O took went P
Act psSit Und Event
Bidul has gone to take the sickle to Puni.

2) bidulas puni-ge kacia-n hocc-ka ra?das
Bidul S to Puni IO sickle O taken is P
Act psSit Und Event State
Bidul is gone with the sickle to Puni.

Footnotes.

[1] This superimposed vowel system does not necessarily represent any one specific Indo-Aryan dialect's vowel system, and for all practical purposes, the vowels /i/, /e/, /o/, and /u/ are not really superimposed since there is apparently no context where they contrast with native Kurux vowels /i/, /e/, /o/, and /u/.

[2] There are exceptions to this general rule in the case of certain Attributive-cell clauses, and certain clauses of the Receptive-Transitive subset (compare Section B-1.12 on Modified Role Markers).

[3] There are some exceptions to the rule that the second class of Site markers marks nouns that are true Sites (locative). One of the more notable of these is the use of =nu 'in'—normally a locative marker—as a marker of the semantic feature (reciprocal) experiencer, as in abRar=nu jhagRa manja kera 'they got to quarreling with each other' (literally, they=in quarrel became went).

[4] By 'center of grammatical focus' we have in view the relative information-value that the various grammatical constituents bear depending on whether or not they are marked for grammatical focus. So,

for example, we may say that the Subject of the Intransitive clause een injo piTkan, 'I caught some fish' is the center of grammatical focus, but that in the closely related Transitive clause een injon piTkan, 'I killed the fish' the Object is the center of grammatical focus, and that still further that in the closely related Transitive clause een injon piTkan cicckan (with the focus auxiliary ci?a 'give') the Predicate is in focus. Supporting this attempt to pinpoint centers of grammatical focus is the following set of derived causative clauses:

1) aas enggan injo piT-taa-cas
he me fish kill-cv
He had me catch some fish.

2) aas injon piT-taa-cas (engghay=paahi)
he fish kill-cv my=by
He had the fish killed (by me).

The first example of the set is the causative of een injo piTkan 'I caught some fish.' The causative selects the original Subject to be the Object in the derived clause. The second example of the set is the causative of een injon piTkan 'I killed the fish.' The causative, in this case, selects the original Object to be the Object in the derived clause. Hence, the constituents that were said to be centers of grammatical focus display that they are so by the way they causativize: the causative normally reconstitutes the center of grammatical focus of the original clause as Object in the derived clause.

But when the Predicate is itself the center of grammatical focus (marked above by the presence of the auxiliary ciccas) the causative is normally blocked: the sentence nee piT-taa-ca xane mankhus injon piTias ciccas, 'who worked it so that Mankhu killed the fish' (with the change from een to Mankhu) is a non-occurring sentence, whereas, minus the auxiliary ciccas, it is an acceptable one. Hence, when the Predicate is the center of grammatical focus marked by ci?a 'contrary-to-expectation,' the information conveyed by it is in some respects the most important of all the information contained in the clause. This information is not allowed to be deleted by application of the causative rule.

[5] Certain exceptions to this rule occur in our data. The following examples:

R mankhus=hi moTarsaaykal haba mokkha cicca
Mankhu's motorcycle S air C ate gave P
Und psUnd Event
Mankhu's motorcycle bit the dust (=has been ruined).

R aasin sardi dharca cicca
him O cold S grabbed gave P
Und psAct Event
He caught a cold.

Footnotes. (cont'd)

show that the focus auxiliary ci?a (past tense cicca) is used to mark the Predicates of Receptive clauses. However, in both examples the Predicate main verbs are normally used in Transitive-set clauses. mooxa 'to eat (anything except cooked rice)' and dhar?a 'to seize, lay hold of, hold in one's grasp; are characteristically Transitive (active) verbs. Their re-use in Receptive set clauses does not reduce the potential that these verbs have of being marked by auxiliaries that also belong to Transitive-set clauses. With verbs that are characteristically Receptive-set verbs, however, the auxiliary ci?a never occurs (that is, not in our data). Instead the auxiliary kaala normally occurs. But kaala never occurs with the verbs mooxa and dhar?a--whether they be used in Receptive or Transitive set clauses.

[6] See Section B-1.12 under Modified Undergoer Markers for discussion of one way in which the construction marker =hi marks Undergoers. In this particular clause mankhus is the Undergoer and maya is a psUnd (Predicate Extension).

[7] This clause has been tentatively assigned to the Di-Receptive pattern because 1) baa:s 'bamboo' is a mover but not an actor in relation to the process denoted by the verb laggia, and 2) when inanimate entities are hit by bamboo, they may be marked by the locative =nu 'in,' as in baa:s engghay ghaRi=nu laggia kera, 'the bamboo struck my watch.' Hence, with Sites, Site markers normally occur, but with pseudo-Sites, Object markers normally occur--given that the Subject is inanimate. Compare this clause with the third example under 4b Di-Receptive (-recipient).

[8] The verb kudda, 'to tour, travel, take a stroll,' is one of a subclass of verbs that normally take Undergoer-marked Sites. Compare for example een samuca-dunia-n kuddkan, 'I made a tour of the world' or 'I toured the world,' een huu gaDDi-n Degckan, 'I jumped the ditch,' een xoTTa mann-an kaTTkan 'I passed the bel-fruit tree.' Hence, here also the noun mela 'fair, festival' does not get marked for Site by way of a Site-marker, as in the other examples cited for the Semi-Receptive-Transitive pattern.

Abbreviations.

A	Attributive/Adjunct
Act	Actor
Act-Cs	Actor-Causer
actv	active
adv	adverb

Ag	agent
ben'y	beneficiary
C	Circumstantial/Complement
cl	clausal
cls	classifier
cv	causative
d	derived
D	Descriptive
DA	Di-Attributive
Del	Actor-deletion rule
Dpl	role-displacement rule
D-R	Descriptive-Receptive
DR	Di-Receptive
DRT	Di-Receptive-Transitive
DS	Di-Stative
DSR	Di-Stative-Receptive
DT	Di-Transitive
DTR	Di-Transitive-Receptive
E	Eventive
emph	emphatic focus
env	environmental
ET	Eventive-Transitive
F	Focus-marker
I	Intransitive
IO	Indirect Object
IR	Intransitive-Receptive
loc	location
M	role-marker
mov	movement
NP	noun phrase
O	Object
P	Predicate
poUnd	potential Undergoer
psAct	pseudo-Actor
psSit	pseudo-Site
psUnd	pseudo-Undergoer
pv	passive
R	role-marker/Referent/Receptive
rcp	reciprocal
rec	recipient
recv	receptive
recv-actv	receptive-active
RT	Receptive-Transitive
rv	reflexive
S	Stative/Subject

SA	Semi-Attributive
sequ	sequence
Sit	Site
S-R	Stative-Receptive
SR	Semi-Receptive
SRT	Semi-Receptive-Transitive
SS	Semi-Stative
SSR	Semi-Stative-Receptive
ST	Semi-Transitive
Sta	Statant
STR	Semi-Transitive-Receptive
sv	stative
T	Transitive
Tpn	role-transposition rule
TR	Transitive-Receptive
umk	unmarked role
Und	Undergoer
VP	verb phrase
+	obligatory
-	minus
=	postposition break

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Clause Patterns in Kolami

Norman and Helen McNair

A. Introduction.

The purpose of this paper is first of all to provide some materials on the Kolami language as it is spoken in the western side of the Wani Taluka in the Yeotmal district of Maharashtra State, India. Secondly, the same material may be useful for grammatical comparison with various language in India, especially among the group of Dravidian languages.

The reader must bear in mind that the analysis of the clause level in Kolami as reflected in this paper has not been completed yet. We consider this paper to be a tentative statement of Kolami clause structure as the analysis was based on a small amount of text material and mainly checked through elicitation. Further investigation and study of text material may cause certain modifications of this analysis.

The following is a brief statement about the Kolami phonology and orthography used for the Kolami examples in this paper. In Figures 1 and 2 below the consonants and vowels are given, together with the orthographic symbols in parentheses in those cases where the orthographic spelling is different from the phonemic spelling.

Stops	vl	p		t		ṭ(T)		k
	vd	b		d		ḍ(D)		g
Fricatives	vl			s	š(sh)		č(c)	
	vd			z			ǰ(j)	
Nasals		m		n				ŋ(ng)
Flaps					r			
Laterals					l			
Semi Vowels			v				y	

Figure 1. Consonants in Kolami.

i i:(ii) u u:(uu)
e e:(ee) o o:(oo)
a a:(aa)

Figure 2. Vowels in Kolami.

Mr. G. H. Tekam, 25 years of age, has served in the capacity of Language Assistant. Mr. Tekam lives in Rohapat, a village near Navargaon in Wani Taluka in the Yeotmal District of Maharashtra. We are indebted to him for his help over a six week period in giving and checking the data on which this analysis was based. Our initial study of this language was begun with the help of Mr. Ukunda Meshram of Cheparda, Yeotmal Taluka, Yeotmal District of Maharashtra.

We are very much indebted to Mr. T. L. Naik of Runza, via Yeotmal, without whose help this paper would not have been possible. He collected and transcribed most of the text and elicited material for this paper.

We are also indebted to Dr. Kenneth L. Pike and Dr. Austin Hale for providing the theoretical background of this paper. We are grateful to Dr. Ronald L. Trail and Mr. Kent Gordon for their comments on the analysis and the writing of this paper.

B. Basic Patterns.

1. The Contrastive System.

1.1 The Role Marker System in Kolami.

In this section we want to show how the three primary roles—Actor, Undergoer, and Site—are marked in Kolami. These roles are central to the sememic classification of clause patterns.

Transitivity Matrix accounting for State and Event Categories. The transitivity system is defined by the roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site. This will result in the following eight cells of the Transitive and Receptive sets of clauses.

	Und + Sit	Und	Sit	
Transitive set	Di-Transitive	Transitive	Semi-Transitive	In-Transitive
Receptive set	Di-Receptive	Receptive	Semi-Receptive	Eventive

Figure 3. Transitivity System.

By the additional distinction between event and state the Transitivity matrix may be doubled in adding the Stative and the Attributive sets of clauses. The resulting full Transitivity matrix is given in Figure 4.

	Und + Sit	Und	Sit	
Act Event	DiTransitive	Transitive	Semi-Transitive	Intransitive
	DiReceptive	Receptive	Semi-Receptive	Eventive
Sta State	DiStative	Stative	Semi-Stative	Descriptive
	DiAttributive	Attributive	Semi-Attributive	Circumstantial

Figure 4. Full Transitivity System.

Normal Role Markers in Kolami. In Figures 5 through 10 the normal markers have been summarized for the nuclear roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site within each of the Transitivity patterns. Cells in which a given role cannot occur (by definition of the Transitivity pattern) are marked by three hyphens. Cells for which no appropriate example of a given role have been found are marked by empty parentheses.

The clauses below each figure illustrate the normal markers. The forms referred to by labels in the figures are underlined in the examples. M stands for marker, and R for role.

DT Umk	T Umk	ST Umk	I Umk
DR ---	R ---	SR ---	E ---
DS ( )	S ( )	SS ( )	D ( )
DA ---	A ---	SA ---	C ---

Figure 5. Normal Actor Markers for Animate Actors.

Animate Actors.

DT		amd	anung	pustok	siyten
	M	he Umk	I Gol	book Umk	gave
	R	Act	Sit	Und	Evt

He gave me a book.

T amd aambal tinden
M he Umk rice Umk ate
R Act Und Evt
He ate rice.

ST add ellang seddin
M she Umk house Gol went
R Act Sit Evt
She went to the house.

I amd mangten
M he Umk slept
R Act Evt
He slept.

DT Und	T Und	ST —	I —
DR Umk	R Umk	SR —	E —
DS ( )	S ( )	SS —	D —
DA Umk	A Umk	SA —	C —

Figure 6. Normal Undergoer Markers for Human Undergoers.

2) Human Undergoers.

DT amd anung baala-n iTten
M he Umk I Gol boy-Und showed
R Act Sit Und Evt
He showed me the boy.

T aate maas-un korktin
M dog Umk man-Und bit
R Act Und Evt
The dog bit the man.

DR ramak anung opaTen
M Ram Umk I Gol found
R Und Sit Evt
I met Ram.

R amd tikten
M he Umk died

R Und Evt
He died.

DA amnung imd maas mayit anDan
M he Gol this man Umk knows
R Sit Und State
He knows this man.

A ramak poDam anDan
M Ram Umk tall Cpl is
R Und State
Ram is tall.

DT ±Und	T ±Und	ST —	I —
DR Umk	R Umk	SR —	E —
DS ( )	S ( )	SS —	D —
DA Umk	A Umk	SA —	C —

Figure 7. Normal Undergoer Markers of Non-human Undergoers.

3) Non-human Undergoers.

DT add baalang iir siytin
M she Umk boy Gol water Umk gave
R Act Sit Und Evt
She gave water to the boy.

baala maasung ella-n iTten
M boy Umk man Gol house-Und showed
R Act Sit Und Evt
The boy showed the house to the man.

T amd zanavar goDDen
M he Umk animal Umk killed
R Act Und Evt
He killed the animal.

aate mite-n sumtin
M dog Umk rabbit-Und caught
R Act Und Evt
The dog caught a rabbit.

DR anung petre opaTin
M I Gol letter Umk found
R Sit Und Evt
I received a letter.

R berp igriltin
M ice Umk melted
R Und Evt
The ice melted.

DA bason iirt anDa
M basin Umk water Loc is
R Und Sit State
The basin is in the water.

A sevri dod anDa
M pot Umk big Cpl is
R Und State
The pot is big.

DT Gol	T —	ST Gol	I —
DR Gol	R —	SR ( )	E —
DS ( )	S —	SS ( )	D —
DA Gol	A —	SA ( )	C —

Figure 8. Normal Site Markers for Animate-Goal Sites.

4) Animate-Goal Sites.

DT amd an-ung pustok siyten
M he Umk I-Gol book Umk gave
R Act Sit Und Evt
He gave the book to me.

ST amd an-ang vatten
M he Umk we-Gol came
R Act Sit Evt
He came to us.

DR an-ung petre opaTin
M I-Gol letter Umk found
R Sit Und Evt
I received a letter.

DA ramak-ung pustok anDa
M Ram-Gol book Umk is
R Sit Und State
Ram has a book.

DT Gol	T —	ST Gol	I —
DR ( )	R —	SR ( )	E —
DS ( )	S —	SS ( )	D —
DA Gol	A —	SA ( )	C —

Figure 9. Normal Site Markers for Inanimate-Goal Sites.

5) Inanimate-Goal Sites.

DT amd aaten sher-ung kosten
M he Umk dog Und city-Gol took
R Act Und Sit Evt
He took the dog to the city.

ST amd uur-ung sedden
M he Umk village-Gol went
R Act Sit Evt
He went to the village.

DA ella-ng inding darojal anDav
M house-Gol two doors Umk are
R Sit Und State
The house has two doors.

DT Loc	T —	ST Loc	I —
DR Loc	R —	SR ( )	E —
DS ( )	S —	SS ( )	D —
DA Loc	A —	SA ( )	C —

Figure 10. Normal Site Markers for Locative-Sites.

6) Locative Sites

DT		baala	silka-t	gunD	rusitea
	M	boy Umk	river-Loc	stone Umk	threw
	R	Act	Sit	Und	Evt

The boy threw the stone in the river.

ST		baala	saTTe-t	utten
	M	boy Umk	mat-Loc	sat
	R	Act	Sit	Evt

The boy sat on the mat.

DR		mamDi	elt	uTtin
	M	mango Umk	ground Loc	fell
	R	Und	Sit	Evt

The mango fell on the ground.

DA		bason	iir-t	anDa
	M	basin Umk	water-Loc	is
	R	Und	Sit	State

The basin is in the water.

Modified Site Markers. In Figure 10 markers were given for locative Sites. In addition to those, there are also Site Markers for Location, which do not only mark location but also have some more specific lexical content as:

mera	'near'
taTT	'under'
pode	'on'
tanDl	'from'

The nouns preceding these postpositions are marked for Undergoer as in Figures 6 and 7.

DT Loc	T —	ST Loc	I —
DR Loc	R —	SR ( )	E —
DS ( )	S —	SS ( )	D —
DA Loc	A —	SA ( )	C —

Figure 11. Modified Site Markers for Locative Sites.

7) Locative Sites

DT amd mamDi biti pode iTTen
M he Umk mango Umk wall on Loc put
R Act Und Sit Evt
He put the mango on the wall.

amd baalan tanDl pustok sumten
M he Umk boy from Loc book Umk took
R Act Sit Und Evt
He took the book from the boy.

ST amd maak taTT utten
M he Umk tree under Loc sat
R Act Sit Evt
He sat under the tree.

add baalan mera uttin
M she Umk boy near Loc sat
R Act Sit Evt
She sat near the boy.

ST muy maak pode soktin
M monkey Umk tree on Loc climbed
R Act Sit Evt
The monkey climbed on the tree.

DR baala gappa tanDl uTten
M baby Umk basket from Loc fell
R Und Sit Evt
The baby fell from the basket.

DA kop paTTe pode anDa
M cup Umk shelf on Loc is
R Und Sit State
The cup is on the shelf.

1.2 The Focus Marker System in Kolami.

In the following section three kinds of focus will be discussed briefly: unmarked focus, thematic focus, and emphatic focus. Unmarked focus is the organization in focus and attention which is inherent to a clause in which no special focus markers occur. Thematic focus brings information which is already given in the context back into attention again. Emphatic focus is shown by suffixes which show either conjunctive or disjunctive emphasis.

1.21 Unmarked Focus.

In order to describe the grammatical organization of a clause in the unmarked focus, such categories as subject (S), object (O), indirect object (IO), referent (REF), and predicate (P) are required. In Kolami, these categories are marked in part by agreement patterns with the verb. That is, all Subjects are marked in the verb regardless of whether they are actually realized in the clause or not.

Subject. The following indicates the roles of Subject: if an Actor is present, it will be the Subject. If there is no Actor, but there is an Undergoer, the Undergoer will be the Subject. Up to date, no examples with Site as Subject have been found.

DT Act	T Act	ST Act	I Act
DR Und	R Und	SR ( )	E ( )
DS ( )	S ( )	SS ( )	D ( )
DA Und	A Und	SA ( )	C ( )

Figure 12. Role of Subject.

8) DiTransitive

add baalang iir siytin
she Umk boy Gol water Umk gave
S IO O P
Act Sit Und Evt
She gave water to the boy.

9) Transitive

aate bogga partin
dog Umk hole Umk dug
S O P
Act Und Evt
The dog dug a hole.

10) SemiTransitive

amd uurung sedden
he Umk village Gol went
S IO P
Act Sit Evt
He went to the village.

11) Intransitive

baala	arten
boy Umk	wept
S	P
Act	Evt

The boy wept.

12) DiReceptive

ramak	anung	opaTen
Ram Umk	I Gol	found
S	IO	P
Und	Sit	Evt

I met Ram.

13) Receptive

berp	igriltin
ice Umk	melted
S	P
Und	Evt

The ice melted.

14) DiAttributive

bason	iirt	anDa
basin Umk	water Loc	is
S	REF	P
Und	Sit	State

The basin is in the water.

15) Attributive

maak	poDam	anDa
tree Umk	tall Cpl	is
S		State

The tree is tall.

Parallel to the ranking in Subject selection demonstrated above, there is an unmarked ordering of roles in Kolami. The order of Undergoer and Site may be changed in DiTransitive and DiReceptive clauses to give priority to the animate role. The normal order of the roles in a DiTransitive clause which contains all three roles is the following:

Actor Site Undergoer

Consider the following examples.

16)

amd	anung	korr	siyten
he Umk	I Gol	chicken Umk	gave
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

He gave me a chicken.

17)

amd	aamang	baalan	siyten
he Umk	mother Gol	boy Und	gave
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

He gave the boy to the mother.

18)

muy	elt	zamrei	rusitin
monkey Umk	ground Loc	jamuls Umk	threw
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

The monkey threw the jamuls (fruit) to the ground.

The above ordering of Site and Undergoer is changed—fronting the Undergoer—to give priority to the animate role. Consider the examples below.

19)

pilla	baalan	gappat	iTTin
woman Umk	child Und	basket Loc	put
Act	Und	Sit	Evt

The woman put the child in the basket.

20)

amd	aaten	sherung	kosten
he Umk	dog Und	city Gol	took
Act	Und	Sit	Evt

He took the dog to the city.

The unmarked order of the Transitive clause pattern is:

Actor Undergoer

This can be seen in the following examples.

21)

pilla	baalan	ungtin
girl Umk	boy Und	lifted (on waist)
Act	Und	Evt

The girl lifted the boy.

22)

maas	aaten	sumten
man Umk	dog Und	caught
Act	Und	Evt

The man caught the dog.

In DiReceptive clause patterns the roles are as follows:

Undergoer Site

Consider these examples.

23) ramak anung opaTen
Ram Umk I Gol found
Und Sit Evt
I met Ram.

24) mamDi elt uTtin
mango Umk ground Loc fell
Und Sit Evt
The mango fell on the ground.

The examples below show a change in the ordering of Undergoer and Site—fronting the Site—to give priority to the animate role.

25) anung petre opaTin
I Gol letter Umk found
Sit Und Evt
I received a letter.

26) anung karu vattin
I Gol hunger Umk came
Sit Und Evt
I became hungry.

Normal Focus Pairing. In Kolami, if the role of Actor is present in a clause it is always unmarked and will be the Subject. The role of Undergoer is obligatorily marked when it is a human Object. It is optionally marked when a non-human Object, and never marked when Subject. Site is always marked, whether it is Indirect Object or Referent. There is always agreement between the Subject and Predicate.

The normal relationship between ranking of roles in normal focus and word order may be described as follows:

a) Where all three nuclear roles are present:
Actor is Subject
Site is Indirect Object or Referent
Undergoer is Object

b) Where Actor is absent:
Undergoer is Subject
Site is Indirect Object or Referent

c) Where Undergoer is absent:
Actor is Subject
Site is Indirect Object or Referent

d) Where Site is absent:
Actor is Subject
Undergoer is Object

e) Where only Actor or Undergoer is present that role is Subject.

In normal cases then, there is a pairing of Actor with Subject, Undergoer with Object, and Site with Indirect Object or Referent. Figure 13 illustrates the normal pairings for each transitivity cell.

DT Act Sit Und S IO O REF	T Act Und S O	ST Act Sit S IO REF	I Act S
DR Und Sit S IO REF	R Und S	SR ( )	E ( )
DS ( )	S ( )	SS ( )	D ( )
DA Sit Und IO S REF	A Und S	SA ( )	C ( )

Figure 13. Normal Pairings of Role and Focus.

The above chart is illustrated by the following examples.

27) DiTransitive

add	baalang	iir	siytin
she Umk	boy Gol	water Umk	gave
S	IO	O	P
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

She gave water to the boy.

baala	silkat	gunD	rusiten
boy Umk	river Loc	stone Umk	threw
S	REF	O	P
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

The boy threw a stone in the river.

28) Transitive

pilla	godma ippaTe	suTTin
woman Umk	wheat bread Umk	made
S	O	P
Act	Und	Evt

The woman made a chapati (wheat bread).

29) SemiTransitive

imme beek	maamakrang	seddin
your mother Umk	uncle Gol	went
S	IO	P
Act	Sit	Evt

Your mother went to (your) uncle.

baala	saTTet	utten
boy Umk	mat Loc	sat
S	REF	P
Act	Sit	Evt

The boy sat on the mat.

30) Intransitive

aan	tumtan
I Umk	sneezed
S	P
Act	Evt

I sneezed.

31) DiReceptive

ramak	anung	opaTen
Ram Umk	I Gol	found
S	IO	P
Und	Sit	Evt

I met Ram.

mamDi	elt	uTtin
mango Umk	ground Loc	fell
S	REF	P
Und	Sit	Evt

A mango fell on the ground.

32) Receptive

lakDe	viytin
wood Umk	burnt
S	P
Und	Evt

The wood burnt.

33) DiAttributive

amung	iir	anDa
we Gol	water Umk	is
IO	S	P
Sit	Und	State

We have water.

pilla ellat anDa
woman Umk house Loc is
S REF P
Und Sit State
The woman is in the house.

34) Attributive

sevri dod anDa
pot Umk big Cpl is
S Pex P
Und State
The pot is big.

Focus Markers in Verbs. Verbs in Kolami are inflected for person and number in first and second person and for person, number, and gender in third person. This inflection is in agreement with the Subject of the clause. Subject and Predicate agreement can be seen in the following examples. The Subject focus markers are underlined in the verbs.

35) DiTransitive

add anung baalan iTt-in
she 3sn I Gol boy Und showed-3sn
S IO O P
Act Sit Und Evt
She showed the boy to me.

36) Transitive

amd ellan kaTt-en
he 3sn house Und built-3sm
S O P
Act Und Evt
He built a house.

37) SemiTransitive

avr uurung ent-er
they 3pm village Gol reached-3pm
S IO P
Act Sit Evt
They reached the village.

38) Intransitive

aan tumt-an
I 1s sneezed-1s
S P
Act Evt
I sneezed.

39) DiReceptive

ramak   anung opaT-en
Ram 3sm I Gol found-3sm
S   IO   P
Und   Sit   Evt
I met Ram.

40) Receptive

berp   igrilt-in
ice 3sn melted-3sn
S   P
Und   Evt
The ice melted.

41) DiAttributive

kuuTel   vegaT   anD-av
cattle 3pn field Loc are-3pn
S   REF   P
Und   Sit   State
The cattle are in the field.

42) Attributive

amd   ushar   anD-an
he 3sm clever Cpl is-3sm
S   Pex   P
Und   State
He is clever.

Modification of Unmarked Focus: Topicalization. The topicalization of almost any tagmeme of a clause in Kolami can be done by fronting. The following examples were elicited and focus was put on various tagmemes by questions.

43) baala   ellat   mamDin   iTTen
boy Umk house Loc mango Und put
Act   Sit   Und   Evt
The boy put the mango in the house.

Who put the mango in the house?

44) baala   mamDin   ellat   iTTen
boy Umk mango Und house Loc put
The boy put the mango in the house.

What did the boy put in the house?

45) mamDin baala ellat iTTen.
mango Und boy Umk house Loc put
The boy put the mango in the house.

Where did the boy put the mango?

46) ellat baala mamDin iTTen
house Loc boy Umk mango Und put
The boy put the mango in the house.

At this stage of analysis, no rules concerning topicalization can be made. Consider the examples below, taken from text material, which show the topicalization process.

47) inung aan okkod kata iDatun
you Gol I Umk one happening Umk will tell
Sit Act Und Evt
I will tell you one happening.

48) adn geDyaker koster
she Und servants Umk took
Und Act Evt
The servants took her.

1.22 Thematic Focus.

Thematic focus brings back to attention some information that was already given earlier. In Kolami this may be done by the word taande which could be glossed as, 'the one spoken of'. This is illustrated in the examples below.

49) idd okkod maasalaD taande ellata aani vegaTa panni a toote
this one wife house and field work is not
By this one wife (the one already spoken of in the story as having two children) the work of the house and field is not done.

50) inDed iiv taande rekka pus
today you shrubs pull out
Today you (the wife who had been taken to the field) pull out shrubs!

51) imme beek taande imme maamakrang ooleng seddin
your mother your uncle see went
Your mother (the one you have been calling for) went to see your uncle.

52) add pilla taande avre beekun bee ena kuugeng laagtin
that girl their mother mother saying called began
That girl (the one who had picked up her brother) began to call their mother saying, 'Mother'.

53) diyam taande attin parki molaptin
god there cucumber made shoot
The god (who had sent the cow) made a cucumber vine grow there.

1.23 Emphatic Focus.

In Kolami emphatic focus is shown by suffixes which show either conjunctive or disjunctive emphasis.

Conjunctive Emphasis. By conjunctive emphasis we mean the singling out of a constituent for emphasis which is thereby conjoined with one or more previously named constituents. It is shown by the suffix -nay which could be glossed as 'also'. Consider the examples below.

54) sinnam baala-nay paalung arrakad
small boy-also milk cried
The small boy also cried for milk.

55) amme baan kuuTen-nay alangten
our father cow-also killed
Our father killed the cow also.

56) amme beek-nay toote amung
our mother-also not we
We do not have a mother also.

57) add parkin-nay pik rusiten
that cucumber-also pluck threw
He plucked and threw that cucumber vine also.

58) mosaling-nay uTipakad
crocodile-also dropped (he)
He dropped (fruit) to the crocodile also.

Disjunctive Emphasis. By disjunctive emphasis we mean the singling out of a constituent for emphasis which is thereby disjoined from other possible constituents as being somehow unique. It is shown by the suffix -i which could be glossed as 'only' or 'very'. It is illustrated in the examples below.

59) add-i zaagat baalakul sedde.
that-very place children went
The children went to that very place.

60) inDedtung enD ittin-i mangnar
today we here-only sleep
For today let us sleep here only.

61) inDi immet-i raje anDad
now your-only kingdom is
Now the kingdom is yours only.

62) add-*i* uurung koster
that-very village took (they)
They took (sticks) to that *very* village.

2. *Systemic Contrast*.

The purpose of this section is to determine which of the cells of the full Transitivity Matrix of Figure 4 are filled by inherent clause types in Kolami. This will be done by showing: a) general contrasts which coincide with the features separating rows and columns; b) specific contrasts which separate basic types in the various cells; and c) derivational contrasts which arise from the processes by which one basic type is converted into another cell of Figure 4 as a derived type.

2.1 General Contrasts.

The following general contrasts will be discussed below: State vs. Event, Actor vs. no Actor, Undergoer vs. no Undergoer, and Site vs. no Site.

State Vs. Event. In the organization of a narrative discourse Grimes (1972: 41-124) finds six kinds of information—that will be referred to here by discourse categories—which are: 1. Events, 2. Participants, 3. Setting, 4. Background, 5. Collateral, and 6. Performatives. Out of these the category *Event* may be distinguished in the Kolami verb from categories like *State*.

The *Event* category covers the chain of actual happenings in the Narrative discourse. The State category covers statements of what might have happened, what did not happen, identification of participants or of the narrator, procedural statements as to how something should be done, promises, commands, requests, questions, quoted material presented as distinct from the actual chain of narrative events, and explanations and other logical statements.

It seems that the three sets of the Transitivity matrix, the Attributive, Receptive, and Transitive sets differ from each other. This difference then may be taken to illustrate a more basic distinction between State and Event. Up to date, no inherent examples of the Stative set have been found.

All verbs of the Receptive and Transitive sets are ordinarily inflected by simple past tense suffixes. They may also be stativized and thereby be derived into the Stative and Attributive sets by optional tense changes. The Attributive clauses are different. They cannot be derived out of the Attributive set by optional tense changes. The eventivizing process requires a substitution of the verb. For example the inherent Attributive verb, *an*- 'be', may be substituted by an eventive verb, *er*- 'become'.

The differences between the three sets of the Transitivity matrix are given in Figure 14.

	± Imperativizing	± Causativizing	± Stativizing	± Eventivizing
Transitive Receptive	+ –	+ +	+ +	– –
Stative Attributive	( ) –	( ) –	( ) –	( ) +

Figure 14. Difference between State and Event.

Out of the three sets of clause patterns, one inherent example will be given below. In addition, for each of these clause patterns all plus signs in Figure 14 will be illustrated.

63) Transitive

amd ella kaTten
he Umk house Umk built
Act Und Evt
He built a house.

iiv ella kaTT
you Umk house Umk build
Sta Und Imp
You build a house.

amd amnun ella kaTTeng iTTen
he Umk he Und house build made
Act Und Evt
He made him build a house.

amd ella kaTt anDan
he Umk house Umk built is
Sta Und State
He has built a house.

64) Receptive

berp igriltin
ice Umk melted
Und Evt
The ice melted.

amd berpun igripten
he Umk ice Und made melt
Act Und Evt
He melted the ice.

berp igrilt anDa
ice Umk melted is
Und State
The ice has melted.

65) Attributive

maak dod anDa
tree Umk big Cpl is
Und State
The tree is big.

maak dod eddin
tree Umk big Cpl became
Und Evt
The tree became big.

Actor Vs. No Actor. In general outline, the differences between the row of the Transitivity matrix that has an Actor, (Transitive) and the row that does not (Receptive), has been given above already. The relevant features may be summarized briefly again.

+ Actor (Transitive row)	− Actor (Receptive row)
a) Causative indicates double function (Causative action on Actor)	a) No double function (Causative action on Undergoer)
b) Has an Actor	b) Has no Actor but receives one by causativizing
c) Takes imperative	c) —
d) Actor is Subject in unmarked focus. DT, T, ST, and I	d) —

Undergoer Vs. No Undergoer. The criteria by which the two columns that have an Undergoer are separated from those that do not have an Undergoer may be listed as follows.

+ Undergoer	− Undergoer
a) Undergoer is present in DT, T, DR, R, DA, A	a) Patterns without Undergoer are ST and I.
b) Patterns that have an Undergoer as Subject in the unmarked focus are DR, R, DA, A	b) —

Site Vs. No Site. The following shows the division between those clauses having a Site and those not having one.

+ Site	*– Site*
a) Site present in DT, ST, DR, and DA.	a) Site is not present in T, I, R, and A

2.2 Specific Contrasts.

The contrasts listed below do not coincide with those separating whole rows or columns, but rather contrast individual cells with one another, or may contrast a certain group of cells with another.

Number of nuclear roles.
one role: I, R, A
two roles: T, ST, DT, DA
three roles: DT

Human Undergoer marked as Undergoer.
yes: DT, T
no: DR, R, DA, A

Clause has Undergoer as Object.
yes: DT, T
no: DR, R, DA, A

Clause can be passivized.
yes: DT, T, ST, I
no: DR, R, DA, A

Clause takes Causative 1.
yes: DR, R
no: DT, T, ST, I

Clause takes Causative 2.
yes: ST, I
no: DT, T, DR, R

Clause takes Causative 3.
yes: DT, T
no: ST, I, DR, R

2.3 Derivational Contrasts.

For each of the contrastive clause types which are illustrated in Section B. 3. below, the derivation potentials are different. This fact may be seen in Figure 15. In the matrix a plus sign indicates that a given rule applies directly to the inherent clause types. Rules that may apply to derivations of a given clause can be obtained from the appropriate column into which the clause may be derived. Empty cells in the matrix represent a minus choice.

Type Rule		DT	T	ST	I	DR	R	DA	A
Add:	Cv1					+	+		
	Cv2			+	+				
Delete:	Sit	+		+		+		+	
	Und	+	+						
Embed:	Cv3	+	+						
	Pv	+	+						
Shift:	Ev							+	+
	Sv	+	+	+	+	+	+		

Figure 15. Applicability of Rules to Clause Patterns.

For a more complete explanation of these rules see Section D. 1. Derivational Rules. Briefly, the symbols needing explanation used in Figure 15 are:

Cv = Causative
Pv = Passive
Sv = Stative

3. Contrastive Types.

Beginning with the DiTransitive clause, all contrastive patterns will be illustrated by examples with a formula of the respective clause types preceding them. The parenthetical material in box 2 after the NP indicates the role marking. The box 1 grammatical label, REF, is used but this may be REF or IO as shown in Figure 13.

66) DiTransitive Clause Type.

$$+\ \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{Act} \mid \text{anim}} \quad +\ \frac{\text{REF} \mid \text{NP(Gol/Loc)}}{\text{Sit} \mid \text{anim/place}} \quad +\ \frac{\text{O} \mid \text{NP(}\pm\text{Und)}}{\text{Und} \mid \text{item}} \quad +\ \frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{Evt} \mid \text{dt}}$$

amd   anung pustok   siyten
he Umk I Gol book Umk gave
Act   Sit   Und   Evt
He gave the book to me.

amd   add pele maasalun vegaTung kosten
he Umk that first wife Und field Gol took
Act   Und   Sit   Evt

He took his first wife to the field.

pilla amnung mamDikul iTtin
woman Umk he Gol mangoes Umk showed
Act Sit Und Evt
The woman showed the mangoes to him.

baala silkat gunD rusiten
boy Umk river Loc stone Umk threw
Act Sit Und Evt
The boy threw the stone in the river.

anne soptyak anung kayi pesal poy siyten
my friend Umk I Gol some money Umk lent
Act Sit Und Evt
My friend lent me some money.

pilla baalan gappat iTTin
woman Umk child Und basket Loc put
Act Und Sit Evt
The woman put the child in a basket.

amd taanne kiiyt bason sumten
he Umk his own hand Loc basin Umk held
Act Sit Und Evt
He held a basin in his hand.

amd aamang baalan siyten
he Umk mother Gol boy Und gave
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave the boy to the mother.

add anung baalan iTtin
she Umk I Gol boy Und showed
Act Sit Und Evt
She showed the boy to me.

amd aaten sherung kosten
he Umk dog Und city Gol took
Act Und Sit Evt
He took the dog to the city.

maas baalan tanDl pustok sumten
man Umk boy from Loc book Umk siezed
Act Sit Und Evt
The man took the book from the boy.

67) Transitive Clause Type.

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	O	NP(±Und)	+	P	VP
	Act	anim		Und	item		Evt	t

pilla baalan ungtin
woman Umk boy Und lifted (on waist)
Act Und Evt
The woman lifted the boy.

avr sinnam baalan kiravter
they Umk small boy Und searched
Act Und Evt
They searched for the small boy.

amd ellan kaTten
he Umk house Und built
Act Und Evt
He built a house.

add elun syaktin
she Umk ground Und swept
Act Und Evt
She swept the floor.

amd zanavar goDDen
he Umk animal Umk killed
Act Und Evt
He killed an animal.

avr vall endapter
they Umk rice Umk planted
Act Und Evt
They planted rice.

amd vegaD urrten
he Umk field Umk ploughed
Act Und Evt
He ploughed the field.

pilla godma ippaTe suTTin
woman Umk wheat bread Umk made
Act Und Evt
The woman made a chapati (wheat bread).

aate miten sumtin
dog Umk rabbit Und caught
Act Und Evt
The dog caught the rabbit.

baala gunDun etten
boy Umk rock Und lifted
Act Und Evt
The boy lifted a rock.

aate maasun korktin
dog Umk man Und bit
Act Und Evt
The dog bit the man.

aate pokka tavtin
dog Umk hole (in earth) Umk dug
Act Und Evt
The dog dug a hole.

68) SemiTransitive Clause Type.

$$+ \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{Act} \mid \text{anim}} \quad + \frac{\text{REF} \mid \text{NP(Loc/Gol)}}{\text{Sit} \mid \text{anim/place}} \quad + \frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{Evt} \mid \text{st}}$$

muy maak pode soktin
monkey Umk tree on Loc climbed
Act Sit Evt
The monkey climbed the tree.

amd uurang tuuTen
he Umk village Gol ran
Act Sit Evt
He ran towards the village.

imme beek maamakrang seddin
your mother Umk uncle Gol went
Act Sit Evt
Your mother went to (your) uncle.

avr uurung enter
they Umk village Gol reached
Act Sit Evt
They reached the village.

amd maak taTT utten
he Umk tree under Loc sat
Act Sit Evt
He sat under the tree.

add ellang vattin
she Umk house Gol came
Act Sit Evt
She came to the house.

add baalan mera uttin
she Umk boy near Loc sat
Act Sit Evt
She sat near the boy.

amd uurung vatten
he Umk village Gol came
Act Sit Evt
He came to the village.

pod paar pode soktin
sun Umk far up Loc climbed
Act Sit Evt
The sun climbed high.

baala aaten tanDl tuuTen
boy Umk dog from Loc ran
Act Sit Evt
The boy ran from the dog.

69) Intransitive Clause Type.

$+ \frac{S \mid NP(Umk)}{Act \mid anim} \qquad + \frac{P \mid VP}{Evt \mid i}$

baala arten
boy Umk wept
Act Evt
The boy wept.

aan tumtan
I Umk sneezed
Act Evt
I sneezed.

okkon maas penDli katten
one man Umk wedding did
Act Evt
One man married.

baalakul mangter
children Umk slept
Act Evt
The children slept.

baalakul kayengter
children Umk laughed
Act Evt
The children laughed.

piTTa negaytin
bird Umk flew
Act Evt
The bird flew.

add eendtin
she Umk danced
Act Evt
She danced.

70) DiReceptive Clause Type.

$$+\frac{S \mid NP(Umk)}{Und \mid item} \quad + \frac{REP \mid NP(Loc/Gol)}{Sit \mid anim/place} \quad + \frac{P \mid VP}{Evt \mid dr}$$

anung petre opaTin
I Gol letter Umk found
Sit Und Evt
I received a letter.

ramak anung opaTen
Ram Umk I Gol found
Und Sit Evt
I met Ram.

aan ramakung opaTan
I Umk Ram Gol found
Und Sit Evt
Ram met me.

mamDi elt uTtin
mango Umk ground Loc fell
Und Sit Evt
The mango fell on the ground.

anung avre goTTi keltin
I Gol their language Umk understood
Sit Und Evt
I understood their language.

amnung iida vattin
he Gol cold Umk came
Sit Und Evt
He became cold. (from weather or sickness)

anung karu vattin
I Gol hunger Umk came
Sit Und Evt
I became hungry.

amnung veenDi vattin
he Gol hot Umk came
Sit Und Evt
He became hot. (from direct heat)

amnung karvun vattin
he Gol cold Umk came
Sit Und Evt
He became cold. (from direct cold)

71) Receptive Clause Type.

$$+\frac{S \mid NP(Umk)}{Und \mid item} \quad +\frac{P \mid VP}{Evt \mid r}$$

barna oDtin
pot Umk burst
Und Evt
The pot burst.

zunge aaTreltin
cloth Umk shrank
Und Evt
The cloth shrank.

baalakul peregter
children Umk grew up
Und Evt
The children grew up.

mamDi sivktin
mango Umk decayed
Und Evt
The mango decayed.

lakDe viytin
wood Umk burnt
Und Evt
The wood burnt.

nenjuD aartin
meat Umk dried
Und Evt
The meat dried.

lakDe teeltin
wood Umk floated
Und Evt
The wood floated.

berp igriltin
ice Umk melted
Und Evt
The ice melted.

baala gesrilten
boy Umk slipped
Und Evt
The boy slipped.

amd tikten
he Umk died
Und Evt
He died.

amne men nesamtindin
his body Umk itched
Und Evt
His body itched.

okkod parki panDktin
one cucumber Umk ripened
Und Evt
One cucumber ripened.

varu aani iir kalaytin
sand and water Umk mixed
Und Evt
The sand and water mixed.

amd miDiten
he Umk fell over
Und Evt
He fell over.

baala mungten
boy Umk sank
Und Evt
The boy sank.

vaana vattin
rain Umk came
Und Evt
Rain came.

andar paTTin
darkness Umk fell
Und Evt
Darkness fell.

72) DiAttributive Clause Type.[1]

$$+\frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{Und} \mid \text{item}} \quad + \frac{\text{REF} \mid \text{NP(Loc)}}{\text{Sit} \mid \text{place}} \quad + \frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{State} \mid \text{da}}$$

bason iirt anDa
basin Umk water Loc is
Und Sit State
The basin is in the water.

kop paTTe pode anDa
cup Umk shelf on Loc is
Und Sit State
The cup is on the shelf.

pilla ellat anDa
woman Umk house Loc is
Und Sit State
The woman is in the house.

keDyak aaDavit anDa
leopard Umk jungle Loc is
Und Sit State.
The leopard is in the jungle.

kuuTel vegaT anDa
cattle Umk field Loc are
Und Sit State
The cattle are in the field.

baala uuset anDan
child Umk basket Loc is
Und Sit State
The child is in the basket.

amd ellat anDan
he Umk house Loc is
Und Sit State
He is in the house.

amne kuTum keDet anDar
our family Umk village Loc are
Und Sit State
Our family is in the village.

amnung imd maas mayit anDan
he Gol this man Umk knows
Sit Und State
He knows this man.

amung iir anDa
we Gol water Umk is
Sit Und State
We have water.

ramakung pustok anDa
Ram Gol book Umk is
Sit Und State
Ram has a book.

amnung irve kuuTel anDav
he Gol twenty cows Umk are
Sit Und State
He has twenty cows.

anung ponTon anDa
he Gol pen Umk is
Sit Und State
He has a pen.

anne soptyakung aatid saTTel anDav
my friend Gol five mats Umk are
Sit Und State
My friend has five mats.

amnung iddar baalakul anDar
he Gol two sons Umk are
Sit Und State
He has two sons.

venDoko maasalung iddar baalakul anDer
second wife Gol two children Umk were
Sit Und State
The second wife had two children.

ellang inding darojal anDav
house Gol two doors Umk are
Sit Und State
The house has two doors.

maakung dol kammul anDav
tree Gol big branches Umk are
Sit Und State
The tree has big branches.

piTTang inding reDapal anDav
bird Gol two wings Umk are
Sit Und State
A bird has two wings.

puuvung gulabi pakoryal anDav
flower Gol pink petals Umk are
Sit Und State
The flower has pink petals.

73) Attributive Clause Type.

$$+ \frac{S \mid NP(Umk)}{Und \mid item} \quad + \frac{P \mid VP}{State \mid a}$$

ramak poDam anDan
Ram Umk tall Cpl is
Und State
Ram is tall.

amd ushar anDan
he Umk clever Cpl is
Und State
He is clever.

anne annak ovvol anDan
my elder brother Umk well Cpl is
Und State
My elder brother is well.

amd kusit anDan
he Umk happy Cpl is
Und State
He is happy.

maak poDem anDa
tree Umk tall Cpl is
Und State
The tree is tall.

add pustok anDa
that Umk book Cpl is
Und State
That is a book.

idd anne ella anDa
this Umk my house Cpl is
Und State
This is my house.

amd donga anDan
he Umk thief Cpl is
Und State
He is a thief.

aate zanavar anDa
dog Umk animal Cpl is
Und State
A dog is an animal.

C. Inflected Patterns.

1. Tense-Aspect System.

1.1 Verb Stem Forms and Infinitive Form.

Stem Forms. Verbs will be given with two stems, the basic stem and the past stem.[2] The past stem is formed by adding the suffix -t to the basic stem but there are allomorphic variations and morphophonemic rules governing the alterations in the basic stem.[3] Illustrations of the basic stem plus the -t suffix for past tense are shown in examples 74-78.

a) In this group the final consonant of stem-final double consonants is lost before the suffix is added.

74)	siy-, siyt-	give
	ooD-, ooDt-	burst
	ool-, oolt-	see, look at
	sokk-, sokt-	climb
	summ-, sumt-	catch, hold, buy
	uTT-, uTt-	fall (down)
	kalay-, kalayt-	mix

b) Examples which show partial assimilation of final consonant of basic stem to -t.

75)	udd-, utt-	sit
	eend-, eent-	dance
	iDD-, iFt-	tell, show

c) Examples which show partial assimilation of both the final consonant of the basic stem and the -t suffix.

76)	suD-, suTT-	cook, prepare food

	iiD-, iTT-	put

d) Examples which show that the final consonant of the basic stem and suffixial consonant are replaced by one phoneme.

77)	opaD-, opaT-	find, meet
	tuul-, tuuT-	run

e) Irregular verbs:

78)	gool-, goDD-	beat, kill
	an-, anD-	be
	var-, vatt-	come
	kor-, kott-	bring
	er-, edd-	become
	ser-, sedd-	go

The Infinitive Form. The infinitive form of the verb is formed by adding the suffix -*eng* to the basic verb stem. The examples which follow show the basic verb stem and the infinitive form of the verb.

79)	siy-, siy-*eng*	give
	sokk-, sokk-*eng*	climb
	iiD-, iiD-*eng*	put
	tin-, tin-*eng*	eat

See Sections C.1.d, C.2.e and f, E.1. and 2. for the use of the infinitive form.

1.2 Verb Paradigms.

All verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, and mode. Of these, first and second person are inflected for person and number while third person is inflected for person, number, and gender.

The following tenses, aspects, and modes have been distinguished:

Tense	Past Non-past
Aspect	Potential[4] Durative
Mode	Past Negative Non-past Negative

For each of the above the following forms will be given: first person singular and plural, second person singular and plural, third person singular masculine and non-masculine, and third person plural masculine and non-masculine.

80) The DiTransitive verb siy-, siyt- 'give'

	Past	Non-past	Potential
1s	siytan	siyat	siydat
1p	siytam	siyatum	siydatum
2s	siytiv	siyativ	siydativ
2p	siytir	siyatir	siydatir
3sm	siyten	siyan	siydan
3sn	siytin	siya(d)	siyda(d)
3pm	siyter	siyar	siydar
3pn	siytev	siyav	siydav
	gave	gives	will/may give

	Durative	Past Negative	Non-past Negative
1s	siydun	siyetan	siyen
1p	siydum	siyetam	siyem
2s	siyniv	siyetiv	siyev
2p	siyner	siyetir	siyer
3sm	siynen	siyeten	siyen
3sn	siyun	siyetin	siye(d)
3pm	siyner	siyeter	siyer
3pn	siynev	siyetev	siyev
	gives (habitual)	did not give	does not give

81) The Transitive verb tin-, tind- 'eat'

	Past	Non-past	Potential
1s	tindan	tinat	tindat
1p	tindam	tinatum	tindatum
2s	tindiv	tinativ	tindativ
2p	tindir	tinatir	tindatir
3sm	tinden	tinan	tindan
3sn	tindin	tina(d)	tinda(d)
3pm	tinder	tinar	tindar
3pn	tindev	tinav	tindav
	ate	eats	will/may eat

	Durative	Past Negative	Non-past Negative
1s	tindun	tinetan	tinen
1p	tindum	tinetam	tinem
2s	tinniv	tinetiv	tinev
2p	tinnir	tinetir	tiner
3sm	tinnem	tineten	tinen
3sn	tind	tinetin	tine(d)
3pm	tinner	tineter	tiner
3pn	tinnev	tinetev	tinev
	eats (habitual)	did not eat	does not eat

82) The SemiTransitive verb tuul-, tuuT- 'run'

	Past	Non-past	Potential
1s	tuuTan	tuulat	tuuldatun
1p	tuuTam	tuulatum	tuuldatum
2s	tuuTiv	tuulativ	tuuldativ
2p	tuuTir	tuulatir	tuuldatir
3sm	tuuTen	tuulan	tuuldan
3sn	tuuTin	tuula(d)	tuulda(d)
3pm	tuuTer	tuular	tuuldar
3pn	tuuTev	tuulav	tuuldav
	ran	runs	will/may run

	Durative	Past Negative	Non-past Negative
1s	tuuldun	tuuletan	tuulen
1p	tuuldum	tuuletam	tuulem
2s	tuulniv	tuuletiv	tuulev
2p	tuulnir	tuuletir	tuuler
3sm	tuulnen	tuuleten	tuulen
3sn	tuulun	tuuletin	tuule(d)
3pm	tuulner	tuuleter	tuuler
3pn	tuulnev	tuuletev	tuulev
	runs (habitual)	did not run	does not run

There is one verb form which occurs in narrative text. It occurs with third person subjects and is formed by adding the suffix -akad to the basic verb stem. At this stage of analysis no definite conclusions can be drawn as to the exact meaning of this suffix. However, since it is found only in discourse material and never in elicited material, it would appear that the suffix is discourse conditioned. Consider this extract from a text.

83) te maari ellang vanner idd je kay paata maasal anDin add
so then house came(they) this who ever second wife is she

taane kak-akad taane baalakulung saadre godmal ippaDl
what did her own children good wheat bread

siy-akad anni add pele tadne baalakulung kerna kuTkel
gave(she) and that first one's children husk pieces

kiva rosta aaruD kuTkel inang siy-akad gini ivr
or everyday's dry pieces thus gave(she) but these

roz diyamne kuuTenet paal un-akad mest baalakul benalter
everyday god's cow's milk drank nice children became

'So then they (the children) came to the house. What did the second wife do? She gave her own children good wheat bread (chapatis) and she gave her stepchildren husks or the daily dry bread. But every day these children drank the milk of the god's cow. They became nice children.

1.3 Personal Pronouns.

Like verbs, personal pronouns in Kolami are inflected for number in first and second person and for number and gender in third person.

84) Personal pronouns are unmarked for Subject.

1s	aan	'I'	3sm	amd	'he'
1p	aam	'we'	3sn	add	'she, it'
2s	iiv	'you'	3pm	avr	'they'
2p	iir	'you'	3pn	adav	'they'

85) Personal pronouns are marked for object.

1s	ann	'me'	3sm	amnun	'him'
1p	amun	'us'	3sn	adn	'her, it'
2s	inn	'you'	3pm	avrun	'them'
2p	imun	'you'	3pn	adavlun	'them'

86) Personal pronouns are marked for Indirect Object.

1s	anung	'to me'	3sm	amnung	'to him'
1p	amung	'to us'	3sn	adung	'to her, it'
2s	inung	'to you'	3pm	avrung	'to them'
2p	imung	'to you'	3 pn	adavlung	'to them'

87) Possessive Pronouns.

1s	annet	'my'	3sm	amnet	'his'
1p	ammet	'our'	3sn	adnet	'her, it's'
2s	innet	'your'	3pm	avret	'their'
2p	immet	'your'	3pn	adavlet	'their'

1.4 Modal Verbs.

These verbs follow the main verb which takes the infinitive form and they modify the meaning of the main verb.

Abilitative Mode. The Abilitative Mode is formed by the use of the verb saal- 'can' as in the following examples.

88) Use of saal-

amd tineng saalan
he eat can
He can eat.

aan ellang sereng saalat
I house go can
I can go home.

iiv sokkeng saalav
you climb can
You can climb.

Inceptive Mode. This aspect is formed by the use of the verb laag- 'begin'.

89) Use of laag-

add pilla areng laagtin
that girl cry began
That girl began to cry.

amd tineng laagten
he eat began
He began to eat.

amd sokkeng laagten
he climb began
He began to climb.

1.5 Periphrastic Constructions.

Periphrastic constructions contain a verb in participial form followed by one of the auxiliary verbs given below:

an-	'be'
toot-	'not to be'
kal-	'may be'

At this stage of analysis no final conclusions can be drawn but examples containing the above auxiliary verbs will be shown below.

90) Use of an-

aan tina anDat
I eat am
I am eating.

amd tina anDen
he eat was
He was eating.

epunD epunD amd vannen apunD apunD aan tina anDun
when when he came then then I eat used to be
Whenever he came, I used to be eating.

91) Use of toot-

aan amnun ola tooten
I he see not
I do not see him.

aan tult tooten
I run not
I did not run.

aan amnung iTt tooten
I he tell not
I did not tell him.

92) Use of kal-

amd vatt kaltan
he come may be
He may have come.

2. Mood System.

The following is a brief statement on the mood system in Kolami, including imperative, prohibitive, interrogative, hortatory, desiderative, and mandatory moods. At this stage of research a complete statement of these systems is not possible.

2.1 The Imperative Mood.

The Imperative Mood is normally formed by choosing the verb stem for the second person singular and adding the suffix -ur for the plural. Consider these examples.

93)	iDD-, iTt-	tell
	iDD	you(s) tell
	iDDur	you(p) tell
94)	udd-, utt-	sit
	udd	you(s) sit
	uddur	you(p) sit

Monosyllabic verbs ending in n have the stem vowel lengthened in singular imperative. For example:

95)	tin-, tind-	eat
	tiin	you(s) eat
96)	vin-, vint-	hear
	viin	you(s) hear

The following verbs are irregular.

97)	ser-, sedd-	go
	see	you(s) go
	serr	you(p) go
98)	var-, vatt-	come
	vaa	you(s) come
	varr	you(p) come
99)	kor-, kott-	bring
	kota	you(s) bring
	kotar	you(p) bring

The imperative mood is exemplified in the following clauses.

100) Imperative Clauses.

iiv rekka *pus*
you bushes take out
You *take out* the bushes!

iir tinur
you(p) eat
You *eat*!

iiv aaten *gol*
you(s) dog hit
You *hit* the dog!

iir attin *uddur*
you(p) there sit
You *sit* there!

2.2 The Prohibitive Mood.

The Prohibitive Mood is normally formed by adding the suffix -*nem* to the verb stem for the second person singular and the suffix -*ner* for plural. For example:

101)	tin-, tind-	eat
	tin-nem	you(s) don't eat
	tin-ner	you(p) don't eat
102)	gol-, goDD-	hit
	gol-nem	you(s) don't hit
	gol-ner	you(p) don't hit
103)	siy-, siyt-	give
	siy-nem	you(s) don't give
	siy-ner	you(p) don't give

The following verbs are irregular.

104)	ser-, sedd-	go
	sen-nem	you(s) don't go
	sen-ner	you(p) don't go
105)	var-, vatt-	come
	van-nem	you(s) don't come
	van-ner	you(p) don't come
106)	kor-, kott-	bring
	kon-nem	you(s) don't bring
	kon-ner	you(p) don't bring

Below are some examples of clauses in the prohibitive mood.

107) Prohibitive Clauses.

iiv attin sen-nem
you(s) there don't go
Don't you go there!

iir ippaTe tin-ner
you(p) bread don't eat
Don't you eat the bread!

iiv atten gol-nem
you(s) dog don't hit
Don't you hit the dog!

2.3 The Interrogative Mood.

The Interrogative Mood in Kolami is formed by adding the suffix -a to any finite verb form. Consider the following examples.

108) Interrogative Clauses.

amd pillang pustok siyten-a
he girl book gave-qu.mk.
Did he give the book to the girl?

amd taaD putten-a
he rope cut-qu.mk.
Did he cut the rope?

baala gesrilten-a
boy slipped-qu.mk.
Did the boy slip?

lakDe silkat teeltin-a
wood river floated-qu.mk.
Did the wood float in the river?

The interrogative forms which take a question word optionally take the suffix -a.

109) Interrogative Clauses with question words.

imme beek eel anDad(-a)
your(p) mother where is
Where is your mother?

iiv eerun ooltiv(-a)
you(s) who saw
Who did you see?

adne per taaned anDad(-a)
her name what is
What is her name?

amd taang sedden(-a)
he why went
Why did he go?

amd epunD varan(-a)
he when come
When will he come?

2.4 The Hortatory Mood.

The Hortatory Mood is formed by adding the suffix -nam to the verb stem for second person dual and the suffix -nar for second person plural. Consider the examples below.

110) Hortatory Clauses.

attini kost sen-nam
there taking(sticks) go(two)
Taking sticks, let us go there.

enD ittini mang-nar
we here sleep
Let us sleep here.

enD urung sen-nar
we village go
Let us go to the village.

2.5 The Desiderative Mood.

The Desiderative Mood is formed by use of the verb *paaje* 'want'. When *paaje* occurs following a verb, that verb will be in the infinitive form. Note the -*ung* goal marking on the animate Site in both Desiderative and Mandatory Clauses. Consider the following examples:

111) Desiderative Clauses.

amnung ella *paaje*
he house want
He *wants* a house.

amne taarnguD anung *paaje*
his liver I want
I *want* his liver.

amnung tineng *paaje*
he eat want
He *wants* to eat.

2.6 The Mandatory Mood.

The Mandatory Mood is formed by adding the suffix -*adi* to the past stem of a verb. The verb *paaje* 'want' follows. This is illustrated in the examples below.

112) Mandatory Clauses.

amnung ella takt-*adi* *paaje*
he house stay want
He *must* have a house.

amung pustok siyt-*adi* *paaje*
he book give want
He *must* give a book.

amd tind-*adi* *paaje*
he eat want
He *must* eat.

D. Derived Patterns.

1. Derivational Rules.

A clause which belongs inherently in one of the cells of the transitivity system may be moved out of that cell into various other cells of the system by a given set of rules.

These rules may come under the broad headings of Contrastive and Non-Contrastive rules. When Contrastive rules are applied it means that the derived clause contrasts with the inherent clause in the function of roles or the number of nuclear roles. When Non-Contrastive rules apply it means there is no difference in the function of roles or the number of nuclear roles, but an optional deletion rule has taken place. This does not alter the inherent clause type since the potential for the role remains in the clause; it has merely been deleted. The Actor and Undergoer (when Subject) are unique, however, in that they cannot be completely deleted because they are obligatorily marked in the verb.

1.1 Non-Contrastive Rules.

Actor Deletion (Ad). The examples below show that even when the role of Actor is not explicit in the clause, it is marked in the verb.

113) DT amd pillang pustok siyten ==>
he Umk girl Gol book Umk gave
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave the book to the girl.

Ad pillang pustok siyten
girl Gol book Umk gave(3sm)
Sit Und Evt
(He) gave the book to the girl.

114) ST baala, maak pode sokten ==>
boy Umk tree on Loc climbed
Act Sit Evt
The boy climbed the tree.

Ad maak pode sokten
tree on Loc climbed(3sm)
Sit Evt
(he) climbed the tree.

Undergoer Deletion (Ud). This rule may apply to all clauses containing an Undergoer. However, if the Undergoer is Subject, it will be marked in the verb even if the explicit role is deleted. Consider the examples below.

115) DT amd pillang pustok siyten ==>
he Umk girl Gol book Umk gave
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave the book to the girl.

Ud ST amd pillang siyten
he Umk girl Gol gave
Act Sit Evt
He gave (it) to the girl.

116) T amd aaten sumten ⟹
he Umk dog Und caught
Act Und Evt
He caught the dog.

Ud I amd sumten
he Umk caught
Act Evt
He caught (it).

117) R berp igriltin ⟹
ice Umk melted
Und Evt
The ice melted.

Ud igriltin
melted(3sn)
Evt
(It) melted.

118) A maak dod anDa ⟹
tree Umk big Cpl is
Und State
The tree is big.

Ud dod anDa
big Cpl is(3sn)
State
(It) is big.

Site Deletion (Sd). In certain Kolami clauses the Site may be deleted. See the examples below.

119) DT amd pillang pustok siyten ⟹
he Umk girl Gol book Umk gave
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave the book to the girl.

Sd T amd pustok siyten
he Umk book Umk gave
Act Und Evt
He gave the book.

120) ST maas nagpurung sedden ⟹
man Umk Nagpur Gol went
Act Sit Evt
The man went to Nagpur.

Sd I maas sedden
man Umk went
Act Evt
The man went.

121) DR mamDi elt uTtin ==>
mango Umk ground Loc fell
Und Sit Evt
The mango fell to the ground.

Sd R mamDi uTtin
mango Umk fell
Und Evt
The mango fell.

122) DA amnung iddar baalakul anDar ==>
he Gol two children Und are
Sit Und State
He has two children.

Sd A iddar baalakul anDar
two children Und are
There are two children.

1.2 Contrastive Rules.

1.21 Rules that Add an Actor.

Causative 1 (Cvl). DR R to DT T

Add: a) the suffix -ip to verb stem.
b) appropriate terminations to the -ip suffix.
c) Subject as Actor.
Change: d) Subject as Undergoer to Object as Undergoer.

123) DR mamDi elt uTtin ==>
mango Umk ground Loc fell
Und Sit Evt
The mango fell to the ground.

Cvl DT amd elt mamDin uTtipten
he Umk ground Loc mango Und made fall
Act Sit Und Evt
He made the mango fall to the ground.

124) R berp igriltin ==>
ice Umk melted
Und Evt
The ice melted.

Cvl T amd berpun igripten
he Umk ice Und made melt
Act Und Evt
He melted the ice.

Causative 2 (Cv2). ST I to DT T

Add: a) the suffix -ip to verb stem.
b) appropriate terminations to the -ip suffix.
c) Subject as Actor.
Change: d) Subject as Actor to Object as Undergoer.

Note that although Causative 2 appears to parallel Causative 1, it contrasts by two criteria: it applies to a different set of clause types (ST and I); and it cannot be further derived by Causative 3.

125) ST baala maak pode sokten ==>
boy Umk tree on Loc climbed
Act Sit Evt
The boy climbed the tree.

Cv2 DT amd baalan maak pode sokkipten
he Umk boy Und tree on Loc made climb
Act Und Sit Evt
He made the boy climb the tree.

126) I pilla artin ==>
girl Umk wept
Act Evt
The girl wept.

Cv2 T amd pillan artipten
he Umk girl Und made weep
Act Und Evt
He made the girl weep.

1.22 Rules that Embed.

Passive (Pv). DT T to R

Delete: a) the Actor.
b) the suffix -uD to the verb stem of the embedding clause.
c) the 3sn of the verb er- 'become'.

Here the whole clause minus Actor is embedded as Undergoer of the event verb er- 'become'.

127) DT amd pillang pustok siyten ==>
he Umk girl Gol book Umk gave
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave the book to the girl.

Pv R pillang pustok siyuD eddin
girl Gol book Umk given become
Und Evt
The book was given to the girl.

128) T amd aaten sumten ⟹
he Umk dog Und caught
Act Und Evt
He caught the dog.

Pv R aaten summuD eddin
dog Und caught became
Und Evt
The dog was caught.

Causative 3 (*Cv3*). DT T to T

Add: a) the verb *iiD*, *iTT*- 'put' with the appropriate termination
b) the infinitive suffix -*eng* to the verb stem of the embedding clause.
Change: c) Subject as Actor to Object as Undergoer.

By Causative 3 derivation, only part of the clause is embedded (since Subject as Actor of the original clause becomes Object as Undergoer of the resulting clause). The remainder of the clause then is embedded as complement of the verb *iiD*-, *iTT*- 'put'.

129) DT amd aaDaving kuuTel lopten ⟹
he Umk jungle Gol cattle Umk drove
Act Sit Und Evt
He drove the cows in the jungle.

Cv3 T amd amnun aaDaving kuuTel lopeng iTTen
he Umk he Und jungle Gol cows Umk drive put
Act Und Evt
He made him drive the cows in the jungle.

130) T amd aaten sumten ⟹
he Umk dog Und caught
Act Und Evt
He caught the dog.

Cv3 T amd amnun aaten summeng iTTen
he Umk he Und dog Und catch put
Act Und Evt
He made him catch the dog.

131) T amd berpun igripten ⟹
he Umk ice Und melted
Act Und Evt
He melted the ice.

Cv3 T amd amnun berpun igripteng iTTen
he Umk he Und ice Und melt put
Act Und Evt
He made him melt the ice.

1.23 Rules that Shift.

Stative (Sv). The stativizing rule derives a clause out of the Transitive and Receptive sets into the Stative and Attributive sets respectively. All inherent clause types in the Transitive and Receptive sets may be stativized by tense changes as follows.

132) DT amd pillang pustok siyten ==>
he Umk girl Gol book Umk gave
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave the book to the girl.

Sv DS amd pillang pustok siyt anDan
he Umk girl Gol book Umk gave is
Sta Sit Und State
He has given the book to the girl.

133) ST baala saTTet utten ==>
boy Umk mat Loc sat
Act Sit Evt
The boy sat on the mat.

Sv SS baala saTTet utt anDan
boy Umk mat Loc sat is
Sta Sit State
The boy has sat on the mat.

134) R berp igriltin ==>
ice Umk melted
Und Evt
The ice melted.

Sv A berp igrilt anDa
ice Umk melt is
Und State
The ice has melted.

Eventive (Ev). The eventivizing rule derives in the opposite direction compared with the stativizing rule, that is, a clause from the Attributive set may be derived into the Receptive set. The eventivizing process requires a substitution of the verb an- 'be' by the eventive verb er- 'become'.

135) A amd ushar anDan ==>
he Umk clever Cpl is
Und State
He is clever.

Ev R amd ushar edden
he Umk clever Cpl became
Und Evt
He became clever.

2. Derivation Patterns.

The same set of derivation rules that has been introduced in the preceding section will now be applied to each cell of the transitivity system which is filled by an inherent clause pattern. Thereby the various derivation potentials of the inherent clauses will become apparent and provide further ground for contrasting the basic patterns with one another.

For each clause pattern a tree of derivations will be given.[5] These trees will illustrate the applicability of the rules. The applicability or non-applicability of certain rules will be regarded as a contrast between the tree diagrams and thus further ground may be supplied for contrasting clause patterns.

The *conventions* used in the tree diagrams below are as follows:

( )	inherent clause pattern cell
/ /	non-terminal node; apply cyclical rule as indicated for each case
i	derivation applies to inherent clauses of that cell only. Unmarked derivation applies to both inherent as well as derived clauses in that cell.
Sd	Site deletion
Ud	Undergoer deletion
Pv	Passivizing
Cv1	Causative 1
Cv2	Causative 2
Cv3	Causative 3
Ev	Eventivizing
Sv	Stativizing
^{2}DS	numbers at upper left refer to examples

A cyclical rule is marked on the tree diagram as a non-terminal node by / /. Begin the new cycle at that tree diagram which has the same item at the highest possible point.

For instance in Figure 16 the node T is marked by / /, which indicates that a cyclical rule applies to that clause. In order to obtain the full derivation potential of /T/ one has to find the tree diagram that has /T/ as its highest node which is given in Figure 17. However, when a branch of an inherent clause is marked by *i*, this indicates that that particular derivation applies to inherent clauses only.

Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a DiTransitive clause is given in Figure 16.

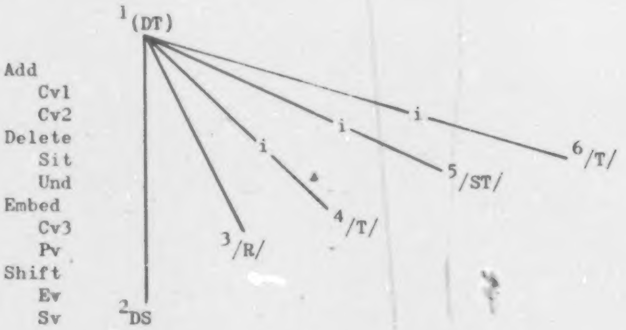

Figure 16. Derivations of a DiTransitive Clause.

136) DiTransitive Derivations.

1) (DT) amd pillang pustok siyten
He gave the book to the girl.

2) DS amd pillang pustok siyt anDan
He has given the book to the girl.

3) /R/ pillang pustok siyuD eddin
The book was given to the girl.

A pillang pustok siyuD ett anDa
The book has been given to the girl.

E pillang siyuD eddin
(It) was given to the girl.

C pillang siyuD ett anDa
(It) has been given to the girl.

4) /T/ amd amnun pillang pustok siyeng iTTen
He made him give the book to the girl.

S amd amnun pillang pustok siyeng iTT anDan
He has made him give the book to the girl.

R amnung pillang pustok siyeng iiDuD eddin
He was made to give the book to the girl.

A amnung pillang pustok siyeng iiDuD ett anDa
He has been made to give the book to the girl.

E pillang pustok siyeng iiDuD eddin
(Someone) has been made to give the book to the girl.

C pillang pustok siyeng iiDuD ett anDa
(Someone) has been made to give the book to the girl.

/I/ amd pillang pustok siyeng iTTen
He made (someone) give the book to the girl.

D amd pillang pustok siyeng iTT anDan
He has made (someone) give the book to the girl.

5) /ST/ amd pillang siyten
He gave (it) to the girl.

SS amd pillang siyt anDan
He has given (it) to the girl.

6) /T/ amd pustok siyten
He gave the book.

S amd pustok siyt anDan
He has given the book.

R pustok siyuD eddin
The book was given.

A pustok siyuD ett anDa
The book has been given.

E siyuD eddin
(It) was given.

C siyuD ett anDa
(It) has been given.

/I/ amd siyten
He gave (it).

D amd siyt anDan
He has given (it).

Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern. The tree diagram of Figure 17 gives the derivations of the Transitive clause.

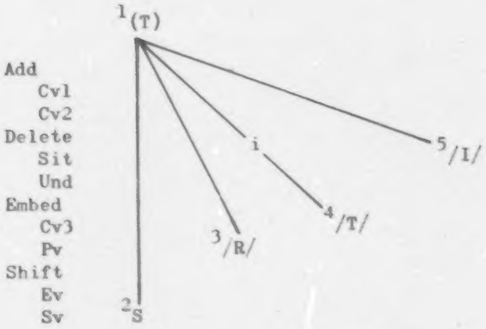

Figure 17. Derivations of a Transitive Clause.

137) Transitive Derivations.

1) (T) amd aaten sumten
He caught the dog.

2) S amd aaten sumt anDan
He has caught the dog.

3) R aaten summuD eddin
The dog was caught.

A aaten summuD ett anDa
The dog has been caught.

E summuD eddin
(It) was caught.

C summuD ett anDa
(It) has been caught.

4) /T/ amd amnun aaten summeng iTTen
He made him catch the dog.

S amd amnun aaten summeng iTT anDan
He has made him catch the dog.

R amnun aaten summeng iiDuD eddin
He was made to catch the dog.

A amnun aaten summeng iiDuD ett anDa
He has been made to catch the dog.

E aaten summeng iiDuD eddin
(Someone) was made to catch the dog.

C aaten summeng iiDuD ett anDan
(Someone) has been made to catch the dog.

/I/ amd aaten summeng iTTen
He made (someone) catch the dog.

D amd aaten summeng iTT anDan
He has made (someone) catch the dog.

5) /I/ amd sumten
He caught (it).

D amd sumt anDan
He has caught (it).

Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause Patterns. The derivational potential of the SemiTransitive clause is given in Figure 18.

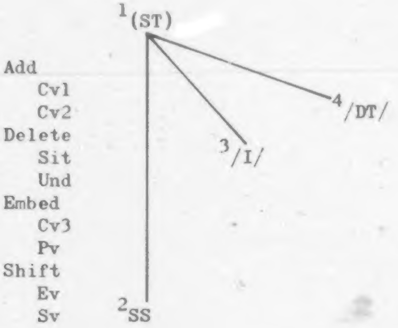

Figure 18. Derivations of a SemiTransitive Clause.

138) SemiTransitive Derivations.

1) (ST) baala maak pode sokten
The boy climbed the tree.

2) SS baala maak pode sokt anDan
The boy has climbed the tree.

3) /I/ baala sokten
The boy climbed.

D baala sokt anDan
The boy has climbed.

4) /DT/ amd baalan maak pode sokkipten
He made the boy climb the tree.

DS amd baalan maak pode sokkipt anDan
He has made the boy climb the tree.

R baalan maak pode sokkipuD eddin
The boy was made to climb the tree.

A baalan maak pode sokkipuD ett anDa
The boy has been made to climb the tree.

E maak pode sokkipuD eddin
(Someone) was made to climb the tree.

C maak pode sokkipuD ett anDa
(Someone) has been made to climb the tree.

Derivations of the Intransitive Clause Pattern. The derivations of an Intransitive clause are given in the tree diagram of Figure 19.

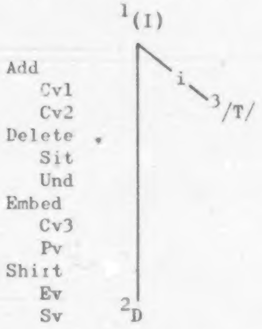

Figure 19. Derivations of an Intransitive Clause.

139) InTransitive Derivations.

1) (I) pilla artin
The girl wept.

2) D pilla art anDa
The girl has wept.

3) /T/ amd pillan artipten
He made the girl weep.

S amd pillan artipt anDan
He has made the girl weep.

R pillan artipuD eddin
The girl was made to weep.

A pillan artipuD ett anDa
The girl has been made to weep.

E artipuD eddin
(Someone) was made to weep.

C artipuD ett anDa
(Someone) has been made to weep.

/I/ amd artipten
He made (someone) weep.

D amd artipt anDan
He has made (someone) weep.

Derivations of the DiReceptive Clause Pattern. The Derivation potential of the DiReceptive clause is given in Figure 20 below.

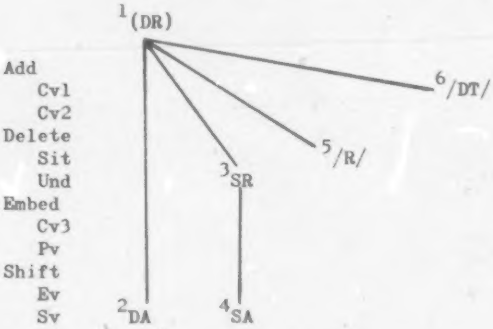

Figure 20. Derivations of a DiReceptive Clause.

140) DiReceptive Derivations.

1) (DR) mamDi elt uTtin
The mango fell on the ground.

2) DA mamDi elt uTt anDa
The mango has fallen on the ground.

3) SR elt uTtin
(It) fell on the ground.

4) SA elt uTt anDa
(It) has fallen on the ground.

5) /R/ mamDi uTtin
The mango fell.

A mamDi uTt anDa
The mango has fallen.

E uTtin
(It) fell.

C uTt anDa
(It) has fallen.

6) /DT/ amd elt mamDin uTipten
He made the mango fall on the ground.

DS amd elt mamDin uTipt anDan
He has made the mango fall on the ground.

R mamDin elt uTipuD eddin
The mango was made to fall on the ground.

A mamDin elt uTipuD ett anDa
The mango has been made to fall on the ground.

E elt uTipuD eddin
(It) was made to fall on the ground.

C elt uTipuD ett anDa
(It) has been made to fall on the ground.

Derivations of the Receptive Clause Pattern. The derivations of a Receptive clause are given in Figure 21. When the cyclical rule is applied to the /T/ derivation in this clause type, the full derivation potential of Transitive clause applies.

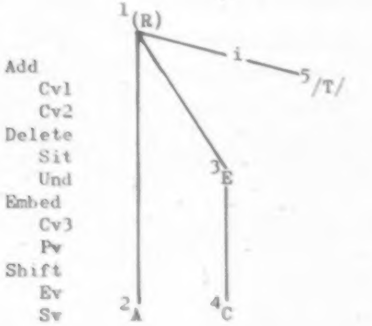

Figure 21. Derivations of a Receptive Clause.

141) Receptive Derivations.

1) (R) berp igrilten
The ice melted.

2) A berp igrilt anDa
The ice has melted.

3) E igriltin
(It) melted.

4) C igrilt anDa
(It) has melted.

5) /T/ amd berpun igripten
He melted the ice.

S amd berpun igript anDan
He has melted the ice.

R berpun igripuD eddin
The ice was melted.

A berpun igripuD ett anDa
The ice has been melted.

E igripuD eddin
(It) was melted.

C igripuD ett anDa
(It) has been melted.

/T/* amd amnun berpun igripeng iTTen
He made him melt the ice.

*Here is an exception to the *i* rule in that Cvl does apply to a derived R.

S amd amnun berpun igripeng iTT anDan
He has made him melt the ice.

R amnun berpun igripeng iiDuD eddin
He was made to melt the ice.

A amnun berpun igripeng iiDuD ett anDa
He has been made to melt the ice.

E berpun igripeng iiDuD eddin
(Someone) was made to melt the ice.

C berpun igripeng iiDuD ett anDa
(Someone) has been made to melt the ice.

/I/ amd berpun igripeng iTTen
He made (someone) melt the ice.

D amd berpun igripeng iTT anDan
He has made (someone) melt the ice.

/I/ amd igripten
He melted (it).

D amd igript anDan
He has melted (it).

Derivations of the DiAttributive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a DiAttributive clause is given in Figure 22 below.

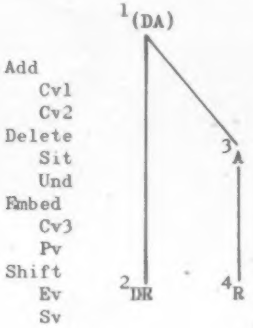

Figure 22. Derivations of a DiAttributive Clause.

142) DiAttributive Derivations.

1) (DA) amnung iddar baalakul anDar
He has two sons.

2) DR amnung iddar baalakul edder
He had two sons.

3) A iddar baalakul anDar
There are two sons.

4) R iddar baalakul edder
There were two sons.

Derivations of the Attributive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of an Attributive clause is given in Figure 23.

^{1}(A)

Add
Cv1
Cv2
Delete
Sit
Und
Embed
Cv3
Pv
Shift
Ev
Sv

^{2}/R/

Figure 23. Derivations of an Attributive Clause.

143) Attributive Derivations.

1) (A) maak dod anDa
The tree is big.

2) R maak dod eddin
The tree became big.

A maak dod ett anDa
The tree has become big.

E dod eddin
(It) became big.

C dod ett anDa
(It) has become big.

E. Dependent Patterns.

1. Participial Constructions.

Participial constructions are common in Kolami. There are basically two kinds of participial dependent clauses.

1.1 Simultaneous Action Clause.

In this clause the -na suffix is added to the infinitive form of the verb, indicating that the action is performed simultaneously to the action of the main verb.

144) Simultaneous Action Clauses.

add sikipt-na paaTun irktin
she caught sari tore
She, having caught (it), tore the sari.

amd sult-na miTten
he stood jumped
He, having stood, jumped.

maas kuuTen aalangt tukDe katten
man cow killed piece did (cut)
The man, having killed the cow, cut (it).

add ellan ayakt meegtin
she house swept smeared (the floor with cowdung)
She, having swept the house, smeared it.

amd uurung sett vatten
he village go came
He, having gone to the village, came (back).

2. Purpose Clause.

The verb of the dependent clause is in the infinitive form. See the examples below.

146) Purpose Clauses.

imme bek taande imme maamakrang ooleng seddin
your mother th.foc, your uncle see went
Your mother went to see your uncle.

anne kolama paavonsar tineng kuug toote
my wife feast eat call not
My wife did not call (you) to eat the feast.

add uurung biyam koseng vattin
she village rice bring came
She came to the village to bring rice.

amd aaDaviyang Doryakev mipeng sedden
he jungle cattle graze went
He went to the jungle to graze cattle.

3. Reason Clause.

The examples below illustrate the dependent Reason Clause. The verb of the dependent clause is inflected for tense and finite verb suffixes preceding the suffix -na.

147) Reason Clauses.

amd sedden-na aan seddan
he went I went
Because he went, I went.

amd bimar anDen-na amnun DakTanang koster
he sick was him doctor took (they)
Because he was sick, they took him to the doctor.

karu vattin-na amd tinden
hunger came he ate
Because he was hungry, he ate.

avr maari podd uTtin-na tamme beknet paav ooleng laagter
they then sun set their mother path see (wait) began
They them, because the sun set, began to wait for their (own) mother.

4. Time Clause.

The following examples illustrate the dependent Time Clause. The verb of the dependent clause is formed by adding the suffix -a to the past stem of the verb. This is followed by a particple baraber or vengkat. These particles could be glossed as follows: baraber 'as soon as' and vengkat 'after'.

148) Time Clauses with baraber.

amd vatt-a baraber aam tindam
he came as soon as we ate
As soon as he came, we ate.

baalakul ellang endt-a baraber aaDter
children house reached as soon as played (they)
As soon as the children reached the house, they played.

aate peTT-a baraber pilla artin
dog bark as soon as girl cried
As soon as the dog barked, the girl cried.

149) Time Clauses with vengkat.

amd vatt-a vengkat aam tindam
he came after we ate
After he came, we ate.

rakashat sedd-a vengkat aDyak vattin
cannibal went after crow came
After the cannibal went, the crow came.

amd mangt-a vengkat pilla parun kaptin
he slept after girl crowbar heated
After he slept, the girl heated a crowbar.

Abbreviations and Conventions.

A/a	Attributive
Act	Actor
Ad	Actor Deletion
anim	Animate
C	Circumstantial
Cpl	Complement
Cv1	Causative 1
Cv2	Causative 2
Cv3	Causative 3
D	Descriptive
DA/da	DiAttributive
DR/dr	DiReceptive
DS/ds	DiStative
DT/dt	DiTransitive
E	Eventive
Ev	Eventivizing
Evt	Event
Gol	Goal Marked
I/i	Intransitive
Imp	Imperative
inan	Inanimate
IO	Indirect Object
Loc	Locative
M	Marker
NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
Opt	Optional
P	Predicate
(p)	Plural
Pex	Predicate Extension
Pv	Passivizing
qu.mk.	Question Marker
R/r	Receptive
R	Role
REF	Referent
S	Subject
S	Stative
(s)	Singular
SA	SemiAttributive
Sd	Site Deletion
Sit	Site

SR	SemiReceptive
SS	SemiStative
ST/st	SemiTransitive
Sta	Statant
Sv	Stativizing
T/t	Transitive
th.foc.	Thematic Focus
Ud	Undergoer Deletion
Und	Undergoer
vd	Voiced
vl	Voiceless
VP	Verb Phrase
Vs	Versus
1s	First Person Singular
1p	First Person Plural
2s	Second Person Singular
2p	Second Person Plural
3sm	Third Person Singular Masculine
3sn	Third Person Singular Non-masculine
3pm	Third Person Plural Masculine
3pn	Third Person Plural Non-masculine
+	Plus
-	Minus
±	Optional

Footnotes.

[1] The formula given covers the first eight examples. The following examples in the DiAttributive Clause Type,need a different formula which is shown below.

$$+\frac{\text{REF} \mid \text{NP(Gol)}}{\text{Sit} \mid \text{anim/inan}} \quad + \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{Und} \mid \text{item}} \quad + \frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{State} \mid \text{da}}$$

[2] Subrahmanyam P.S. Dravidian Verb Morphology, Chapters 2 and 3, "Past Suffixes and Non-Past Suffixes."

[3] Emeneau M.B. Kolami, A Dravidian Language

[4] We have posited a Potential Aspect rather than a Future Tense in view of the following facts:

a) In the Negative we have only a Past and Non-past distinction.
b) Examples in text where this form is used in an 'if' construction,

idd	inne	pele	maasaḷun	jer	iiv	enangna	katna	bulipdativ	kiva
this	your	first	wife	if	you(s)	somehow	do	make lost	or

idun	saydativ	ṭerds	aan	inung	anatun
this one	leave	then only	I	you	be

If you somehow lose your first wife or leave her then I will stay with you.

[5] Derivation trees show the maximum derivations of the clause type. Within some clause types there are sub-types with more restricted derivation potential.

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Clause Patterns in Kotia Oriya

Uwe Gustafsson

A. Introduction.

The purpose of this paper is to provide some materials on the Kotia Oriya language as it is spoken in the Araku Valley area of Visakhapatnam District in Andhra Pradesh, India. It is also hoped that it may prove useful for grammatical comparison across various languages of India, especially among the Indo-Aryan languages.

The reader should bear in mind that this paper presents a preliminary analysis of clause patterns in Kotia Oriya. We hope to be able to present a more complete work on this subject at a later date.

Mr. Golori Ram, 28 years of age, has served in the capacity of language assistant. I am indebted to him for his excellent help in gathering and checking the data on which this analysis is based. I also profited much from the help given by Mr. Killo Pratap and various others from time to time. Mr. Golori Ram was born in the village of Hattaguda, Araku Development Block, Visakhapatnam District.

Furthermore, I am very grateful to Mr. Kama Shasti, Block Development Officer of the Araku Block, who gave his kind consent to Mr. Golori Ram and Mr. Killo Pratap to accompnay me to a workshop in Visakhapatnam.

Dr. Kenneth L. Pike and Dr. Austin Hale deserve special recognition for the theoretical background, without which the writing of this paper would not have been possible. Dr. Austin Hale also gave valuable help with the problems of analysis at various points. Mr. Kent Gordon served as my chief consultant, and I would like to thank him for his many hours spent in consultation with me. Mrs. Evelyn Pike has also given much of her time and talents during the early part of analysis, for which I thank her deeply. My colleagues Dr. Ronald Trail, Mr. David Watters, and Mr. Burkhard Schoettelndreyer were an encouragement through frequent stimulating discussions.

I have benefited in the analysis of this paper from a computer concordance of Kotia Oriya texts processed at the University of Oklahoma in a program supported by National Science Foundation Grant Number GS-1605.

Below is a brief statement on Kotia Oriya orthography as used in this paper.

stops	p	t		T[1]	c	k	
	b	d		D	z	g	
fricatives					s		h
nasals	m		n	N			
liquids		l	r	R			

Figure 1. Consonants as used in Kotia Oriya orthography.

i				u	/length/[2]
	e		o		/nasalization/[3]
		a			

Figure 2. Vowels as used in Kotia Oriya orthography.

1 Capitalization represents retroflection (T = ṭ).

2 Length applies to all vowels and is symbolized by a double vowel /vv/.

3 Nasalization applies to all vowels and is symbolized by a colon following the vowel /v:/.

B. Basic Patterns.

1. The Contrastive System.

1.1 The Role Marker System in Kotia Oriya.

All contrastive clause patterns in Kotia Oriya emerge from a transitivity system which has been defined in terms of the possible combinations of the three primary roles—Actor, Undergoer, and Site. Such combinations result in the following matrix of eight cells, each of which is labelled for reference throughout this paper.

		Site	Undergoer	Sit + Und
-Actor	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Di-Receptive
+Actor	Intransitive	Semi-Transitive	Transitive	DiTransitive

Figure 3. The Transitivity Matrix of the Receptive and Transitive sets of Clauses.

Each of these three roles, which are central to the sememic classification of clause patterns, may be viewed as corresponding to a set of case relations. The eight cells in Figure 3 make up the first major category, that of Event. If we want to show the second major category, that of State, eight more cells will make up the complete transitivity system in Kotia Oriya. The eight-cell State matrix is subdivided into +Statant/-Statant sets. The +Statant set will be called the Stative set; the -Statant set will be called the Attributive set. The complete transitivity system with 16 cells is given in Figure 4.

			Site	Undergoer	Sit + Und
State	-Statant	Circumstantial	SemiAttributive	Attributive	DiAttributive
	+Statant	Descriptive	Semi Stative	Stative	Di Stative
Event	-Actor	Eventive	Semi Receptive	Receptive	Di Receptive
	+Actor	Intransitive	SemiTransitive	Transitive	DiTransitive

Figure 4. Full Transitivity System.

Normal Role Markers in Kotia Oriya. The correlation between markers and roles is basic to the identification of contrastive clause patterns in Kotia Oriya. In Figures 5 through 12 the normal markers have been summarized for the nuclear roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site within each of the transitivity patterns. Cells in which a given role cannot occur (by definition of the transitivity pattern) are marked by three hyphens. Cells for which no appropriate examples of a given role have been found are marked by empty parentheses.

The clauses below each figure illustrate the normal markers. The forms referred to by labels in the figures are underlined in the examples. M stands for marker; R for role.

Actors in Kotia Oriya are unmarked except by agreement patterns in the verb. This agreement marking is shown in the examples by means of underlining.

C ---	SA ---	A ---	DA ---
D ( )	SS Umk	S Umk	DS ( )
E ---	SR ---	R ---	DR ---
I Umk	ST Umk	T Umk	DT Umk

Figure 5. Normal Actor and Statant Markers for animate/inanimate Actors.

1) SS Dokra baD-e ac-e.
M old man Umk garden-in Loc is P
R Sta Sit State
The old man is in the garden.

2) S tui poti poR-i par-su.
M you Umk book reading Umk can P
R Sta Und State
You can read the book

3) I sedi kand-la.
M he Umk cry P
R Act Event
He cried.

4) ST oRa somond upr-e ga-la.
M ship Umk ocean up-on Loc go P
R Act Sit Event
The ship sailed on the ocean.

5) T mui bat kai-li.
M I Umk rice Umk eat P
R Act Und Event
I ate rice.

6) DT tui mo-ke kauni de-lus.
M you Umk me-to Gol food Umk give P
R Act Sit Und Event
You gave food to me.

Note that the example given for the ST clause type has an inanimate Actor. It is, of course, possible for ST clauses to have animate Actors. Similarily, the DT clause type can also take inanimate Actors.

C —	SA —	A Umk	DA Umk
D —	SS —	S Gol	DS ( )
E —	SR —	R Umk	DR Umk
I —	ST —	T Gol	DT Gol

Figure 6. Normal Undergoer Markers for animate Undergoers.

1) A sedi soTa lok.
M he Umk cripple person Umk
R Und Pex
He is a cripple.

2) DA gaD-e mac ac-ot.
M river-in Loc fish Umk are P
R Sit Und State
There are fish in the river.

3) S ram-ke mui zan-i.
M Ram-to Gol I Umk know P
R Und Sta State
I know Ram.

4) R sedi Tak-la.
M he Umk get tired P
R Und Event
He got tired.

5) DR seli Dongr-e az-la.
M goat Umk mountain-in Loc get lost P
R Und Sit Event
The goat got lost in the mountain.

6) T mapru to-ke rokia ko-la.
M god Umk you-to Gol mercy Umk do P
R Act Und Pex Event
God was merciful to you.

7) DT basu mo-ke te-i ne-la.
M bus Umk me-to Gol at-in Loc take P
R Act Und Sit Event
The bus took me there.

C —	SA —	A Umk	DA Umk
D —	SS —	S ( )	DS ( )
E —	SR —	R Umk	DR ( )
I —	ST —	T Umk	DT Umk

Figure 7. Normal Undergoer Markers for Inanimate Undergoers.

1) A goc unc ac-e.
M tree Umk tall Umk is P
R Und Pex State
The tree is tall.

2) DA petia-te Dabu ac-e.
M box-in Loc money Umk is P
R Sit Und State
The money is in the box.

3) R gor bosol-la.
M house Umk collapse P
R Und Event
The house collapsed.

4) T nonimon dan kai-lai.
M girls Umk rice Umk cut P
R Act Und Event
The girls cut the rice.

5) DT DokTer oso gau-te lagai-la.
M doctor Umk medicine Umk wound-at Loc apply P
R Act Und Sit Event
The doctor applied medicine to the wound.

C —	SA Gol	A —	DA ( )
D —	SS ( )	S —	DS ( )
E —	SR Gol	R —	DR ( )
I —	ST ( )	T —	DT Gol

Figure 8. Normal Site Markers for Animate-Goal Referents.

1) SA pila-ke zor ac-e.
M child-to Gol fever Umk is P
R Sit Pex State
The child has a fever.

2) SR ta-ke maia oi-la.
M him-to Gol illusion Umk become P
R Sit Pex Event
He had an illusion.

3) DT mui to-ke poti de-li.
M I Umk you-to Gol book Umk give P
R Act Sit Und Event
I gave a book to you.

C —	SA Loc	A —	DA Loc
D —	SS Loc	S —	DS ( )
E —	SR Loc	R —	DR Loc
I —	ST Loc	T —	DT Loc

Figure 9. Normal Site Markers for Inanimate Locative Sites.

1) SA gor-e andar ac-e.
M house-in darkness Umk is P
R Sit Pex State
It is dark in the house.

2) DA goc-e kiRa coRoi ac-e.
M tree-in Loc parrot Umk is P
R Sit Und State
There is a parrot in the tree.

3) SS guru guRi-ng ac-e.
M priest Umk temple-in Loc is P
R Sta Sit State
The priest is in the temple.

4) SR nuti-ng pani oi-la.
M well-in Loc water Umk become P
R Sit Pex Event
The well became full with water.

5) DR oRa somd-e buD-la.
M ship Umk ocean-in Loc sink P
R Und Sit Event
The ship sank in the ocean.

6) ST ram gaD-e pongor-la.
M Ram Umk river-in Loc swim P
R Act Sit Event
Ram swam in the river.

7) DT pila pani bui-e: rokoi-la.
M boy Umk water Umk ground-on Loc pour P
R Act Und Sit Event
The boy poured water on the ground.

C —	SA ( )	A —	DA ( )
D —	SS ( )	S —	DS ( )
E —	SR ( )	R —	DR ( )
I —	ST Asc	T —	DT ( )

Figure 10. Normal Site Markers for Animate-Associative Sites.

ST pila noni songe bul-la.
M boy Umk girl with Asc walk P
R Act Sit Event
The boy walked with the girl.

C —	SA ( )	A —	DA ( )
D —	SS ( )	S —	DS ( )
E —	SR ( )	R —	DR ( )
I —	ST Src	T —	DT Src

Figure 11. Normal Site Markers for Inanimate-Source Sites.

1) ST bag par-e oni baroi-la.
M tiger Umk cave-in from Src come out P
R Act Sit Event
The tiger came out of the cave.

2) DT tui aT-e oni sag an-lus.
M you Umk market-in from Src vegetable Umk bring P
R Act Sit Und Event
You brought vegetables from the market.

Normal Role Markers on Verbs in Kotia Oriya. All animate and inanimate Actors in Kotia Oriya are marked for agreement in the verb. Whether the Actor is expressed or not, it is always present in the verb phrase of Stative and Transitive set clauses. Below are given some examples to show the Role Markers on Verbs. For further information see Section C., Inflected Patterns.

C —	SA —	A —	DA —
D Agr	SS Agr	S Agr	DS Agr
E —	SR —	R —	DR —
I Agr	ST Agr	T Agr	DT Agr

Figure 12. Normal Actor Agreement in Kotia Oriya Verbs.

SemiStative Clauses

mui gore ac-i.	I am in the house.
tui gore ac-us.	You are in the house.
sedi gore ac-e.	He is in the house.
amu gore ac-ung.	We are in the house.
tomu gore ac-as.	You are in the house.
se lok gore ac-ot.	They are in the house.

The Verbal Role marking in the SemiStative clauses above is representative for the Stative set of clauses with ace. Below we will give Verbal Role Markers in Transitive Verbs as representative for the Transitive set of clauses.

Transitive Clauses

mui bat kai-li.	I ate rice.
tui bat kai-lus.	You ate rice.
sedi bat kai-la.	He ate rice.
amu bat kai-lung.	We ate rice.
tomu bat kai-las.	You ate rice.
se lok bat kai-lai.	They ate rice.

1.2 Modifications of the Normal Role Marker System.

Modified Undergoer Markers. If the Undergoer is marked, it is always marked with -ke. The affix -ke has many uses in Kotia Oriya, and more research is needed to understand all the various meanings. In some cases Undergoers which are normally marked with -ke, remain unmarked. As we understand it now, the difference lies between definiteness vs. indefiniteness. Consider the example below.

T		sedi	goc-ke	mar-la.
	M	he Umk	tree-to Gol	hit P
	R	Act	Und	Event
		He felled the tree.		

The meaning of this clause is that he went to the hills, looked for a particular tree and felled it. If the marker were omitted, it would mean that the speaker had no particular tree in mind, but had just cut down a tree.

A Note on Inanimate-Locative Sites. Inanimate-Locative Sites can be marked in three ways in Kotia Oriya depending on the ending of the locative noun. The three affixes are -e, -i, and -ng. The meaning of all of them is 'in' or 'on.' Thus, par 'cave' becomes par-e 'in the cave,' nuti 'well' becomes nuti-ng 'in the well,' and beDa 'paddy field' becomes beDa-i 'in or on the paddy field.' Proper place names do not take any of these affixes.

1.3 A Note on Focus Marker System In Kotia Oriya.

This section needs more investigation before it can be discussed in detail. We will here only make a few comments. No particular Focus Markers have been found thus far. Normally the Subject of a clause takes the first position in the clause, the Indirect Object second position and the Object precedes the Predicate. Word order, however, is quite flexible, and the conditions underlying this flexibility await further investigation.

2. Systemic Contrasts.

The purpose of this section is to determine which of the cells of the Full Transitivity Matrix of Figure 13 are filled by inherent clause types in Kotia Oriya. This will be done by showing: a) General Contrasts which coincide with the features separating rows and columns, b) Specific Contrasts which separate basic types in the various cells, and c) Derivational Contrasts which arise from the processes by which one basic type is derived into another cell as a derived type.

2.1 General Contrasts.

The following general contrasts will be discussed below: State vs. Event; Undergoer vs. No Undergoer; Site vs. No Site. In discussing these contrasts it will be useful to refer to the following tree diagram of the Transitivity System (Underlined terminal nodes are clause types inherent in Kotia Oriya):

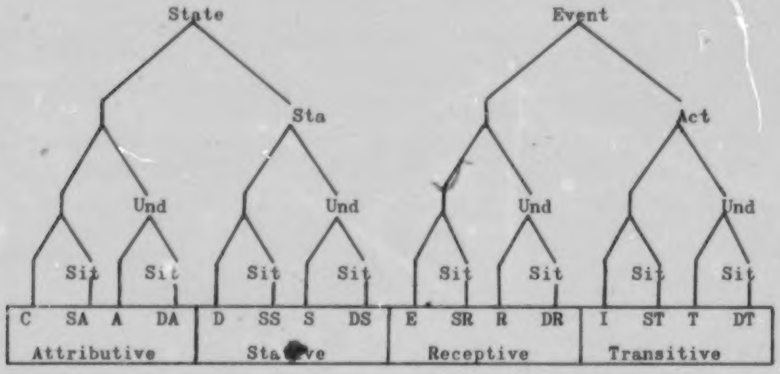


Figure 13. Tree Diagram of the Transitivity System.

2.11 State vs. Event.

The State category covers identification of participants, description of settings, evaluation of participants or of the narrator, commands, questions, quoted material presented as distinct from the actual chain of narrative events, and explanations and other logical statements. The *Event* category covers the chain of actual happenings in the narrative discourse.

The typical *State* verb is *ace* 'to be.' The verb can only be inflected for person and number in the present tense. The past tense of *ace* is *roila* (from *roibar* 'to remain'). Most inherent *State* clause types with *ace*, except those of DA and S , are derived into the *Event* side of the Transitivity Matrix by means of the verb *korbar* 'to do' and *oibar* 'to become.'

Attributive and Stative Vs. Receptive and Transitive.

A-set and S-set	*R-set and T-set*
1) State verb *ace*	1) Any verb inherent to a particular clause type in these sets.

Below we will give one example for each inherent clause type for each set of clauses.

A-set		
(C)	puni ace. time of the full moon is	It is the time of the full moon.
(SA)	pilake zor ace. child to fever is	The child has a fever.
(A)	pani kakor ace. water cold is	The water is cold.
(DA)	goce kiRa coRoi ace. tree in parrot is	There is a parrot in the tr[illegible]
S-set		
(SS)	Dokra baDe ace. old man garden in is	The old man is in the garden.
(S)	tui poti poRi parsu. you book reading can	You can read the book.

No example has been found for the Stative clause type with *ace*.

R-set		
(E)	sakal oila. morning became	It became morning (it dawned).
(SR)	toke baia oila. you to insanity became	You became friendly.
(R)	sedi oza oila. he friendliness became	He became friendly.

(DR) ram moke beT oila. — Ram met me.
Ram me to meeting became

T-set

(I) kukur bunkla. — The dog barked.
dog barked

(ST) ram gaDe pongorla. — Ram swam in the river.
Ram river in swam

(T) pila bat kaila. — The child ate the rice.
child rice ate

(DT) ram pratapke pol dela. — Ram gave fruit to Pratap.
Ram Pratap to fruit gave

2) Use of *oibar* 'to become,' *korbar* 'to do,' or of *roibar* 'to remain or to be,' results in derivation to the *Event* side.	2) Use of *ace* 'to be' results in derivation to the State side.

Examples:

A-set derives into *R-set*

(C) to E puni oila.
time of the full moon became
It became the time of the full moon.

(SA) to SR pilake zor oila.
child to fever became
The child came down with a fever.

(A) to R pani kakor oila.
water cold became
The water became cold.

(DA) to DR The DA clause given above cannot be derived into the *Event* side with *oila*.

S-set derives into *T-set*

(SS) to ST Dokra baDe roila.
old man garden in remained
The old man remained in the garden.

(S) to T The S clause given above cannot be derived into the *Event* side.

R-set derives into A-set

(E) to C sakal oi ace.
morning become is
It has become morning.

(SR) to SA toke baia oi ace.
you to insanity become is
You have become insane.

(R) to A sedi oza oi ace.
he friendliness become is
He has become friendly.

(DR) to DA ram moke beT oi ace.
Ram me to meeting become is
Ram has met me.

T-set derives into S-set

(I) to D kukur bunki ace.
dog barking is
The dog has barked.

(ST) to SS ram gaDe pongri ace.
Ram river in swimming is
Ram has swum in the river.

(T) to S piDa bat kai ace.
child rice eating is
The child has eaten the rice.

(DT) to DS ram pratapke pol de ace.
Ram Pratap to fruit giving is
Ram has given fruit to Pratap.

3) The Attributive and the Stative sets have different derivation potential than the Receptive and Transitive sets. See Section D. Derived Patterns.

Attributive Vs. Receptive.

A-set	R-set
1) + Inherent verb (ace) with present tense only	1) - Inherent verb with present tense only (R-set verbs occur in all tenses)

See examples under State vs. Event above.

2) - Inherent verb when eventivized	2) + Inherent verb (participial form) when stativized

Examples:

(C) puni ace.
time of the full moon is
It is the time of the full moon.

to E puni oila.
time of the full moon became
It became the time of the full moon.

(E) sakal oila.
morning became
It became morning.

to C sakal oi ace.
morning become is
It has become morning.

Stative Vs. Transitive.

S-set		T-set	
1)	- Derivation into Transitive set/	1)	+ Derivation into Stative set
S	tui poti poRi parsu. you book reading can You can read the book.	T	pila bat kaila. child rice ate The child ate rice.
		S	pila bat kai ace. child rice eat is The child has eaten the rice.
2)	State verbs for the Stative cell are zanbar 'to know,' parbar 'to be able,' etc. These take Pseudo-Actors or Statants	2)	Event verbs of the Transitive cell take real Actors.
S	tui poti poRi parsu. you book reading can You can read the book.	T	pila bat kaila. child rice ate The child ate the rice.
3)	- Animate Site	3)	+ Animate Site
SS	amor aba sorge ace. our father heaven in is Our father is in heaven.		
4)	+ Embedded clause	4)	- Embedded clause

S mui kar indaibar zani.
I car driving know
I know how to drive a car.

2.12 Undergoer vs. No Undergoer.

The criteria by which the columns that have an Undergoer are separated from those that do not have an Undergoer may be listed as follows.

	+ Undergoer		- Undergoer
1)	Undergoer is present in A, DA, S, R, DR, T, and DT clause patterns.	1)	Undergoer is absent in C, SA, SS, E, ST, I, and ST clause patterns

2) The derivational potential of clauses with Undergoer and clauses with no Undergoer is different. See Section D. Derived Patterns.

2.13 Site Vs. No Site

	+ Site		- Site
1)	Site is present in SA, DA, SS, ST, DR, ST, and DT clause patterns	1)	Site is absent in C, A, S, E, R, I, and T clause patterns.

2.2 Specific Contrasts.

The contrasts listed below do not coincide with those separating rows and columns, but rather contrast individual cells with one another, or may contrast a certain group of cells with another group.

1) Number of nuclear roles
   no roles: E, C
   one role: SA, A, SR, R, and I
   two roles: DA, SS, S, DR, ST, and T
   three roles: DT

2) Animate Undergoer marked as Goal
   T and DT

3) Clause takes normal imperative
   I, T, ST, and DT

4) Clause can be causativized by -ai with double function
   T and DT

5) Clause can be causativized without double function
   R, DR, I, and ST

6) Clause can take the reflexive
   T

7) Benefactive derivation takes participial form of verb + dela
T and DT

8) Clause can take the passive
T and DT

9) Clause takes completive aspect with participial form of verb + dela
ST, T, and DT

10) Clause takes completive aspect with participial form of verb + gala
E, SR, R, DR, and ST

2.3 Derivational Contrasts

For each of the contrastive clause types which are illustrated in Section 3, Contrastive Types below, the derivational potentials are different. This fact may be seen easily in Figures 14-35.

3. Contrastive Types.

Beginning with the Circumstantial clause type all contrastive patterns will be illustrated with a formula and a set of examples for each type and subtype.

3.1 Circumstantial Clause Type.

$$+\begin{array}{c|c}\underline{\text{Cpl}} & \underline{\text{NP(Umk)}}\\ \text{Pex} & \end{array}\quad+\begin{array}{c|c}\underline{\text{P}} & \underline{\text{VP}}\\ \text{State} & \text{c}\end{array}$$

puni ac-e
time of full moon Umk is P
Pex State
It is the time of the full moon.

amas ac-e
time of the new moon Umk is P
Pex State
It is the time of the new moon.

pus porop ac-e
January festival Umk is P
Pex State
It is the time of the January festival.

soit porop ac-e
April festival Umk is P
It is the time of the April festival.

3.2 SemiAttributive Clause Type.

SemiAttributive Clause Type (with locative Site).

+	Ref	NP(Loc)	+	Cpl	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Sit	place		Pex	attrib		State	sa

gor-e	andar	ac-e
house-in Loc	darkness Umk	is P
Sit	Pex	State

It is dark in the house.

Dongr-e	kakor	ac-e
mountain-in Loc	cold Umk	is P
Sit	Pex	State

It is cold in the mountains.

paTna-i	gond	ac-e
city-in Loc	smell Umk	is P
Sit	Pex	State

It smells in the city.

beDa-i	biza	ac-e
field-in Loc	wetness Umk	is P
Sit	Pex	State

It is wet in the field.

SemiAttributive Clause Type (with goal Site).

+	IO	NP(Gol)	+	Cpl	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Sit	anim		Pex	attrib		State	sa

pila-ke	zor	ac-e
child-to Gol	fever Umk	is P
Sit	Pex	State

The child has a fever.

mo-ke	kosTu	ac-e
me-to Gol	difficulty Umk	is P
Sit	Pex	State

I have difficulty.

ram-ke	sarda
Ram-to Gol	happiness Umk
Gol	Pex

Ram is happy.

maizi-ke duk
wife-to Gol sorrow Umk
Sit Pex
The wife has sorrow.

Note: In the SemiAttributive set of examples the verb is often left understood. The conditions under which the verb is omitted are not well understood at present.

3.3 Attributive Clause Type.

Attributive Clause Type (without Predicate).

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	Cpl	NP(Umk)
	Und	anim		Pex	anim

edi soTa lok
He Umk cripple person Umk
Und Pex
He is a cripple.

razu san pila
Razu Umk small boy Umk
Und Pex
Razu is a small boy.

oricondor goTek raza
Oricondor Umk a king Umk
Und Pex
Oricondor is a king.

bordo siima lok
Bordo Umk dwarf person Umk
Bordo is a dwarf.

Dokra anki kaNa lok
old man Umk eye blindness person Umk
Und Pex
The old man is blind.

Attributive Clause Type (with Predicate).

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	Cpl	AP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Und	anim/inanim		Pex			State	a

pani kakor ac-e
water Umk cold Umk is P
Und Pex State
The water is cold.

goc unc ac-e
tree Umk tall Umk is P
Und Pex State
The tree is tall.

kata sot ac-e
story Umk true Umk is P
Und Pex State
The story is true.

noni sundor ac-e
girl Umk beautiful Umk is P
Und Pex State
The girl is beautiful.

Daru bol ac-e
firewood Umk good Umk is P
Und Pex State
The firewood is good.

3.4 DiAttributive Clause Type.

DiAttributive Clause Type (with animate non-human Und).

+	Ref	NP(Loc)	+	S	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Sit	place		Und	anim(non-hum)		State	da

gaD-e mac ac-ot
river-in Loc fish Umk are P
Sit Und State
There are fish in the river.

baD-e pul ac-ot
garden-in Loc flower Umk are P
Sit Und State
There are flowers in the garden.

pani-ng kankRa ac-ot
water-in Loc crayfish Umk are P
Sit Und State
There are crayfish in the water.

Dongr-e bag ac-e
jungle-in tiger Umk is P
Sit Und State
There are tiger in the jungle.

goc-e kiRa coRoi ac-e
tree-in Loc parrot Umk is P
Sit Und State
There is a parrot in the tree.

DiAttributive Clause Type (with inanimate/concrete Und).

+	Ref	NP(Loc)	+	S	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Sit	place		Und	inanim/concr		State	da

petia-te oso ac-e
box-in Loc medicine Umk is P
Sit Und State
Medicine is in the box.

somd-e bali ac-e
ocean-in Loc sand Umk is P
Sit Und State
There is sand in the ocean.

basu upr-e petia ac-e
bus up-on Loc box Umk is P
Sit Und State
A suitcase is on top of the bus.

kuD-e boma ac-e
wall-on Loc picture Umk is P
Sit Und State
On the wall is a picture.

tali-te boti ac-e
beam-on Loc lamp Umk is P
Sit Und State
A lamp is (hangs) on the beam.

3.5 SemiStative Clause Type.

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	Ref	NP(Loc)	+	P	VP
	Act	anim/hum		Sit	place		State	ss

pila gor-e ac-e
child Umk house-in Loc is P
Act Sit State
The child is in the house.

amor aba sorg-e ac-e
our father Umk heaven-in Loc is P
Act Sit State
Our father is in heaven.

guru guRi-ng ac-e
priest Umk temple-in Loc is P
Act Sit State
The priest is in the temple.

tin amerika lok zon-te ac-ot
three Americans Umk moon-on Loc are P
Act Sit State
Three Americans are on the moon.

3.6 Stative Clause Type.

$$+\ \frac{\text{S}}{\text{Act}} \Big| \frac{\text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{anim}} \quad +\ \frac{\text{O}}{\text{Und}} \Big| \frac{\text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{item}} \quad +\ \frac{\text{P}}{\text{State}} \Big| \frac{\text{VP}}{\text{s}}$$

ram siti lek-bar zan-e
Ram Umk letter writing Umk knows P
Act Und State
Ram knows how to write a letter.

mui kar indai-bar zan-i
I Umk car driving Umk know P
Act Und State
I know how to drive a car.

tui poti poR-i par-su
you Umk book reading Umk can P
Act Und State
You can read the book.

tomu gor band-i par-sa
you Umk house building Umk can P
Act Und State
You can build a house.

3.7 Eventive Clause Types.

$$+\ \frac{\text{Cpl}}{\text{Pex}} \Big| \frac{\text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{inanim}} \quad +\ \frac{\text{P}}{\text{Evt}} \Big| \frac{\text{VP}}{\text{e}}$$

pani mar-la
water Umk hit P
Pex Event
It rained.

guR guR-la
thunder Umk thundered P
Pex Event
It thundered.

baaro ganTa oi-la
twelve o'clock Umk became P
Pex Event
It is twelve o'clock.

3.8 SemiReceptive Clause Type.

SemiReceptive Clause Type (with animate Site).

$$+\frac{\text{IO} \mid \text{NP(Gol)}}{\text{Sit} \mid \text{anim}} \quad +\frac{\text{Cpl} \mid \text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{Pex} \mid \text{inanim/abstr}} \quad +\frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{Evt} \mid \text{sr}}$$

ta-ke maia oi-la
him-to Gol illusion Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
He had an illusion.

to-ke baia oi-la
you-to Gol insanity Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
You became insane.

tom-ke pap oi-la
you-to Gol sin Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
You became sinful.

SemiReceptive Clause Type (with locative Site).

$$+\frac{\text{Ref} \mid \text{NP(Loc)}}{\text{Sit} \mid \text{place}} \quad +\frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{Pex} \mid \text{inanim}} \quad +\frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{Evt} \mid \text{sr}}$$

nuti-ng pani oi-la
well-in Loc water Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
The well filled with water.

goD-e puz oi-la
foot-on Loc pus Umk became P
Sit Pex Event
The foot oozed.

3.9 Receptive Clause Type.

$$+\frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{Und} \mid \text{anim/inanim}} \quad +\frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{Evt} \mid \text{r}}$$

sedi Tak-la
he Umk tired P
Und Event
He tired.

pani kok-la
water Umk boiled P
Und Event
The water boiled.

gor gol-la
house Umk leaked P
Und Event
The house leaked.

kar nos-la
car Umk spoiled P
Und Event
The car broke down.

pul puT-la
flower Umk bloomed P
Und Event
The flower bloomed.

Receptive Clause Type (with Predicate Extension).

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	Cpl	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Und	anim		Pex	inanim		Evt	r

sedi porpanc oi-la
he Umk loss Umk became P
Und Pex Event
He lost (everything).

tui oza oi-lus
you Umk friendliness Umk became P
Und Pex Event
You became friendly.

bian paR oi-la
seed Umk decay Umk became P
Und Pex Event
The seed decayed.

3.10 DiReceptive Clause Type.

DiReceptive Clause Type (with animate Site).

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	IO	NP(Gol)	+	Cpl	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Und	anim		Sit	anim		Pex	inanim		Evt	dr

ram	mo-ke	beT	oi-la
Ram Umk	me-to Gol	meeting Umk	became P
Und	Sit	Pex	Event

Ram met me.

DiReceptive Clause Type (with locative Site).

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	Ref	NP(Loc)	+	P	VP
	Und	anim/inanim		Sit	place		Evt	dr

pol	goc-e oni	odor-la
fruit Umk	tree from Loc	fell P
Und	Sit	Event

The fruit fell from the tree.

oRa	somd-e	buD-la
ship Umk	ocean-in Loc	sank P
Und	Sit	Event

The ship sank in the ocean.

3.11 Intransitive Clause Type.

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Act	anim		Evt	i

kukur	bunk-la
dog Umk	barked P
Act	Event

The dog barked.

pila	punD-la
boy Umk	breathed P
Act	Event

The boy breathed.

tui	kand-lus
you Umk	cried P
Act	Event

You cried.

Dokri	konkol-la
old woman Umk	coughed P
Act	Event

The old woman coughed.

munos	a:s-la
husband Umk	laughed P
Act	Event

The husband laughed.

Intransitive Clause Type (with Predicate Extension).

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	Cpl	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Act	anim		Pex	inanim		Evt	I

mui	alsana	ko-li
I Umk	thought Umk	did P
Act	Pex	Event

I thought.

pratap	upai	ko-la
Pratap Umk	plan Umk	did P
Act	Pex	Event

Pratap planned.

sedi	bidia	ko-la
he Umk	magic Umk	did P
Act	Pex	Event

He did magic.

3.12 SemiTransitive Clause Type.

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	Ref	NP(Loc)	+	P	VP
	Act	anim/inanim		Sit	place		Evt	st

razu	gaD-e	pongor-la
Razu Umk	river-in Loc	swam P
Act	Sit	Event

Razu swam in the river.

oRa	somd-e	poi:-la
ship Umk	ocean-on Loc	floated P
Act	Sit	Event

The ship sailed on the ocean.

lok	kurci-ng	bos-lai
people Umk	chair-on Loc	sat P
Act	Sit	Event

The people sat on chairs.

coRoi	akas-e	uD-la
bird Umk	sky-in Loc	flew P
Act	Sit	Event

The bird flew in the sky.

3.13 Transitive Clause Type.

__Transitive Clause Type (with Actor Orientation).__

$$+\ \frac{\text{S}}{\text{Act}} \vdots \frac{\text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{anim}} \qquad +\ \frac{\text{O}}{\text{Und}} \vdots \frac{\text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{item}} \qquad +\ \frac{\text{P}}{\text{Evt}} \vdots \frac{\text{VP}}{\text{t}}$$

pila	bat	kai-la
child Umk	rice Umk	ate P
Act	Und	Event

The child ate the rice.

maizi	pul	dek-la
wife Umk	flower Umk	saw P
Act	Und	Event

The wife saw the flower.

ramurti	pancia	pind-la
Ramurti Umk	loincloth Umk	bound P
Act	Und	Event

Ramurti bound the loincloth.

mui	kata	pasor-li
I Umk	story Umk	forgot P
Act	Und	Event

I forgot the story.

__Transitive Clause Type (with Undergoer Orientation).__ This subtype has been separated from Transitive (with Actor Orientation) on the basis of derivational contrast. See Figures 30 and 31.

se lok	amor gor	band-lai
those people Umk	our house Umk	built P
Act	Und	Event

Those people built our house.

goRu	goru	rek-la
shepherd Umk	animals Umk	herded P
Act	Und	Event

The shepherd herded the animals.

nonimon	dan	kaT-lai
girls Umk	rice Umk	cut P
Act	Und	Event

The girls cut the rice.

ram-or babu	goc	saz-la
Ram's uncle Umk	tree Umk	planted P
Act	Und	Event

Ram's uncle planted the tree.

mui	siti	lek-li
I Umk	letter Umk	wrote P
Act	Und	Event

I wrote a letter.

Transitive Clause Type (with Predicate Extension).

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	O	NP(Gol)	+	Cpl	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Act	anim		Und	anim		Pex	inanim/abstr		Evt	t

mapru	to-ke	rokia	ko-la
god Umk	you-to Gol	mercy Umk	did P
Act	Und	Pex	Event

God had mercy on you.

aba	pila-ke	aDu	ko-la
father Umk	child-to Gol	protection Umk	did P
Act	Und	Pex	Event

The father protected his child.

e lok	to-ke	song	ko-la
this person Umk	you-to Gol	help Umk	did P
Act	Und	Pex	Event

This person helped you.

sedi	mo-ke	ninda	ko-la
he Umk	me-to Gol	blame Umk	did P
Act	Und	Pex	Event

He blamed me.

guru	mapru-ke	zuar	ko-la
priest Umk	god-to Gol	worship Umk	did P
Act	Und	Pex	Event

The priest worshipped God.

3.14 DiTransitive Clause Type.

DiTransitive Clause Type (with Goal Site).

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	IO	NP(Gol)	+	O	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Act	anim		Sit	anim		Und	item		Evt	dt

ram	pratap-ke	pol	de-la
Ram Umk	Pratap-to Gol	fruit Umk	gave P
Act	Sit	Und	Event

Ram gave fruit to Pratap.

DiTransitive Clause Type (with locative Site).

+	S	¦ NP(Umk)	+	O	¦ NP(Gol)	+	Ref	¦ NP(Loc)	+	P	¦ VP
	Act	' anim/inanim		Und	' anim		Sit	' place		Evt	' dt

basu	mo-ke	te-i	ne-la
bus Umk	me-to Gol	there Loc	took P
Act	Und	Sit	Event

The bus took me there.

noni	pila-ke	aT-e	ne-la
girl Umk	child-to Gol	market-in Loc	took P
Act	Und	Sit	Event

The girl took the child to the market.

aia	ta-ke	gor-e	an-la
mother Umk	him-to Gol	house-in Loc	brought P
Act	Und	Sit	Event

Mother brought him home.

DiTransitive Clause Type (with inherent causative).

+	S	¦ NP(Umk)	+	O	¦ NP(Umk)	+	Ref	¦ NP(Loc)	+	P	¦ VP
	Act	' anim		Und	' item		Sit	' place		Evt	' dt

onot	kot	beDa-i	pakai-la
Onot Umk	fertilizer Umk	field-on Loc	applies P
Act	Und	Sit	Event

Onot put fertilizer on the field.

pila	pani	bui-e:	rokoi-la
boy Umk	water Umk	ground-on Loc	poured P
Act	Und	Sit	Event

The boy poured water on the ground.

mui	saman	petia-te	songoi-li
I Umk	goods Umk	box-in Loc	put P
Act	Und	Sit	Event

I put the goods into the box.

C. Inflected Patterns.

In this section we will discuss briefly the verbal categories of person, number, tense, mood, aspect, and modality.

1. - 3. Person, Number, and Tense.

All verbs in Kotia Oriya are inflected for person, number, and tense. The Stative verb ace 'to be' is an exception in that it takes only present tense stative affixes. The Roles of Actor and Undergoer are thus marked in the verb phrase. For illustrative purposes only one verb is here inflected in context for person, number, and tense. The examples below are given with the verb debar 'to give.'

Past Tense Markers.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-li	-lung
2nd	-lus	-las
3rd	-la	-lai

mui take bat de-li.	I gave rice to him.
tui take bat de-lus.	You gave rice to him.
sedi take bat de-la.	He gave rice to him.
amu take bat de-lung.	We gave rice to him.
tomu take bat de-las.	You gave rice to him.
se lok take bat de-lai.	They gave rice to him.

Present Tense Marker -it.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-it-li	-it-lung
2nd	-it-lus	-it-las
3rd	-it-la	-it-lai

The -i of the present tense marker is dropped if the verb stem ends in a vowel. Since de- has a vowel ending, we give another illustration of a verb stem that ends with a consonant.

mui take bat de-t-li.	I give rice to him.
tui take bat de-t-lus.	You give rice to him.
sedi take bat de-t-la.	He gives rice to him.
amu take bat de-t-lung.	We give rice to him.
tomu take bat de-t-las.	You give rice to him.
se lok take bat de-t-lai.	They give rice to him.

mui paiti kor-it-li.	I do the work.
tui paiti kor-it-lus.	You do the work.
sedi paiti kor-it-la.	He does the work.
amu paiti kor-it-lung	We do the work.
tomu paiti kor-it-las.	You do the work.
se lok paiti kor-it-lai.	They do the work.

Future Tense Marker.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-bi	-bung
2nd	-su	-sa
3rd	-si	-bai

mui take bat de-*bi*.	*I* will give him rice.
tui take bat de-*su*.	*You* will give him rice.
sedi take bat de-*si*.	*He* will give him rice.
amu take bat de-*bung*.	*We* will give him rice.
tomu take bat de-*sa*.	*You* will give him rice.
se lok take bat de-*bai*.	*They* will give him rice.

The Present Tense of the Stative Verb ace.

mui gore ac-*i*.	*I* am in the house.
tui gore ac-*us*.	*You* are in the house.
sedi gore ac-*e*.	*He* is in the house.
amu gore ac-*ung*.	*We* are in the house.
tomu gore ac-*as*.	*You* are in the house.
se lok gore ac-*ot*.	*They* are in the house.

4. *Mood.*

The basic mood in Kotia Oriya discourse is the Declarative. It is found wherever the other moods discussed below do not occur.

4.1 Interrogative Mood.

There are several ways of stating questions in Kotia Oriya--by use of the interrogative particle *ki*, interrogative content words, intonation, the -*u* affix, or the negative interrogative.

4.11 Interrogative Particle *ki*.

tui sun-lus *ki*?	Did you hear?
sedi sun-la *ki*?	Did he hear?
tomu sun-las *ki*?	Did you hear?
se lok sun-lai *ki*?	Did they hear?

These questions can also be stated in the present and future tenses. In speech the personal pronoun is mostly not spoken. This can also be said about the following paradigm.

tui ai-su ki nai ki?	Are you coming or not?
sedi ai-si ki nai ki?	Is he coming or not?
tomu ai-sa ki nai ki?	Are you coming or not?
se lok ai-bai ki nai ki?	Are they coming or not?

4.12 Interrogative Content Words.

Two kinds of interrogative words are in use: one basic like koi 'where,' kai 'which,' and kon 'who'; and the other that becomes an interrogative word by prefixing k- to certain adverbs. Thus, ebe 'now' becomes k-ebe 'when,' ene 'here' becomes k-ene 'where,' and eDebol 'at this time' becomes k-eDebol 'at what time,' to name a few.

koi oni tui ai-lus?	From where did you come?
koi oni sedi ai-la?	From where did he come?
koi oni tomu ai-las?	From where did you come?
koi oni se lok ai-lai?	From where did they come?

Future and present tenses also occur.

k-ebe mui zi-bi?	When will I go?
k-ebe tui zai-su?	When will you go?
k-ebe sedi zai-si?	When will he go?
k-ebe amu zi-bung?	When will we go?
k-ebe tomu zai-sa?	When will you go?
k-ebe se lok zi-bai?	When will they go?

The present tense requires the stative auxiliary ace. Below we give the same constructions in the present tense.

k-ebe tui zai ac-us?	When are you going?
k-ebe sedi zai ac-e?	When is he going?
k-ebe tomu zai ac-as?	When are you going?
k-ebe se lok zai ac-ot?	When are they going?

kaike tui no ai-su?	Why are you not coming?
kaike sedi no as-e?	Why is he not coming?
kaike tomu no ai-sa?	Why are you not coming?
kaike se lok no as-ot?	Why are they not coming?

4.13 Intonation

mui iti kai-bi?	Will I eat here?
tui iti kai-su?	Will you eat here?
sedi iti kai-si?	Will he eat here?
amu iti kai-bung?	Will we eat here?
tomu iti kai-sa?	Will you eat here?
se lok iti kai-bai?	Will they eat here?

Present and past tenses are also possible.

4.14 Affix -u

sun-lus-u?	Did you hear?
azi mac dar-lus-u?	Did you catch fish today?

This form can only be used with the second person singular in the past and present tenses.

4.15 The Interrogative Negative

By use of the interrogative particle ki plus the negative particle nai, an echo question is formed which requires from the listener the answer 'yes.'

mui kand-i nai ki?	Am I not crying?
tui kan-su nai ki?	Are you not crying?
sedi kand-e nai ki?	Is he not crying?
amu kand-ung nai ki?	Are we not crying?
tomu kand-sa nai ki?	Are you not crying?
se lok kand-ot nai ki?	Are they not crying?

4.2 Imperative Mood.

The Imperative Mood in Kotia Oriya expresses a direct command. The imperative form of the verb changes for first and third person Sites. In this paper we will only discuss the following: normal imperative, imperative of debar 'to give,' imperative with auxiliary of debar 'to give,' and negative imperative.

4.21 Normal Imperative

Singular imperatives are normally formed from the stem of the verb. Plural imperatives are formed from the stem of the verb with affix -a.

kopaT ugaR	Open the door! (sg.)
kopaT ugaR-a	Open the door! (pl.)
bos	Sit down! (sg.)
bos-a	Sit down! (pl.)

4.22 Imperative of debar 'to give'

The verb debar 'to give' is an exception to the normal imperative discussed above. The difference does not lie between singular and plural, but rather between the 1st and 3rd person singular and plural goal-marked Sites.

mo-ke kauni de	Give me food! (sg.)
ta-ke kauni des	Give him food! (sg.)
am-ke kauni de	Give us food! (sg.)
tan-ke kauni des	Give them food! (sg.)

For the plural imperative there is a change in the stem of the verb, but the same principle holds true which we presented for the singular imperative of debar 'to give.'

mo-ke kauni dia	Give me food!	(pl.)
ta-ke kauni dias	Give him food!	(pl.)
am-ke kauni dia	Give us food!	(pl.)
tan-ke kauni dias	Give them food!	(pl.)

4.23 Imperative with auxiliary of *debar* 'to give.'

Verbs which under normal conditions in Kotia Oriya discourse can take the auxiliary *debar* 'to give,' can also take it in the imperative mood, but they do not necessarily have to take it. The implications and reasons for this are not yet understood.

soi des	Go to sleep!	(sg.)
soi dias	Go to sleep!	(pl.)

4.24 Negative Imperative.

nokor	Don't!
kor nai	Don't do it!
no kor	Don't do it!
ka nai	Don't eat it!
za nai	Don't go!

4.3 Hortative Mood.

The Hortative Mood is formed by suffixing *-ng* to the stem of the verb.

amu *ta-ke* oso de-*ng*.	Let us give *him* medicine.
amu *tan-ke* oso de-*ng*.	Let us give *them* medicine.

5. *Aspect*.

5.1 Continuous Action.

Continuous action is expressed by suffixing *-te* to the verb stem and employing the appropriate form of roibar 'to remain.' It can be expressed in all tenses.

mui kai-te roi-li.	I was still eating.
tui kai-te roi-lus.	You were still eating.
sedi kai-te roi-la.	He was still eating.
amu kai-te roi-lung.	We were still eating.
tomu kai-te roi-las.	You were still eating.
se lok kai-te roi-lai.	They were still eating.

5.2 Permissive Aspect.

The causative form of the verb plus the causative form of *korbar* 'to do,' plus person, number, and tense affixes give us the permissive aspect. We could translate this construction as, 'permit or allow someone to do something.' Consider the examples below.

mui ta-ke kuait korai-li.	I allowed him to eat.
tui ta-ke kuait korai-lus.	You allowed him to eat.
sedi ta-ke kuait korai-la.	He allowed him to eat.
amu ta-ke kuait korai-lung.	We allowed him to eat.
tomu ta-ke kuait korai-las.	You allowed him to eat.
se lok ta-ke kuait korai-lai.	They allowed him to eat.

6. *Modality.*

6.1 The Negative Construction.

6.11 *With nai Present Tense.* The negative construction with *nai* in the present tense takes the following person-number affixes.

mui mor-i nai.	I am not dying.
tui mor-su nai.	You are not dying.
sedi mor-e nai.	He is not dying.
amu mor-ung nai.	We are not dying.
tomu mor-sa nai.	You are not dying.
se lok mor-ot nai.	They are not dying.

With the Infinitive Form of the Verb Plus nai. This form expresses negation in the immediate present, mostly in answer to a question.

mui zi-bar nai.	I'm not going.
tui zi-bar nai.	You're not going.

The Never or Habitual Aspect. This is formed by use of *nai* with the following affixes on the verb.

mui zai-i nai.	I don't go.
tui za nai.	You don't go.
sedi za-o nai.	He doesn't go.

6.12 With *no*.

The negation form with *no* allows all tenses, but like *nai* the present tense takes the following person-number affixes. Note the contrastive position of *no* preceding the verb as against *nai* following it.

mui no as-i.	I'm not coming.
tui no ai-su.	You're not coming.
sedi no as-e.	He's not coming.
amu no as-ung.	We're not coming.
tomu no ai-sa.	You're not coming.
se lok no as-ot.	They're not coming.

6.13 The Negative Verb noi-

It occurs in all tenses. We illustrate only the past tense below.

mui TeDebol iti noi-li.	I wasn't here at that time.
tui TeDebol iti noi-lus.	You were not here at that time.
sedi TeDebol iti noi-la.	He wasn't here at that time.
amu TeDebol iti noi-lung.	We were not here at that time.
tomu TeDebol iti noi-las.	You were not here at that time.
se lok TeDebol iti noi-lai.	They were not here at that time.

The neither/nor form with noi-.

mui cor noi-i ki dingor noi-i.	I'm neither a thief nor a lazy man.
tui cor noi-su ki dingor noi-su.	You are neither a thief nor a lazy man.
sedi cor noi-e ki dingor noi-e.	He is neither a thief nor a lazy man.
amu cor no-ung ki dingor no-ung.	We are neither thieves nor lazy men.
tomu cor noi-sa ki dingor noi-sa.	You are neither thieves nor lazy men.
se lok cor no-ot ki dingor no-ot.	They are neither thieves nor lazy men.

6.2 Contrary-to-Fact Result.

The contrary-to-fact result clause is formed by suffixing the imperfect affixes -ti, -tus, -ta, -tung, -tas, -tai to the verb stem as follows:

mui ta-ke mar-i de-ti.	I would have hit him. (if a certain condition had obtained)
tui ta-ke mar-i de-tus.	You would have hit him.
sedi ta-ke mar-i de-ta.	He would have hit him.
amu ta-ke mar-i de-tung.	We would have hit him.
tomu ta-ke mar-i de-tas.	You would have hit him.
se lok ta-ke mar-i de-tai.	They would have hit him.

D. Derived Patterns.

A clause which belongs inherently in one of the cells of the transitivity system may be moved out of that cell into various other cells of the system by a given set of rules. There are basically four types of rules in Kotia Oriya. 1) rules that add an Actor, 2) rules that delete the Actor or Undergoer, 3) rules that displace the original Actor, and 4) rules that shift from one discourse category to another—that is, from State to Event or vice versa.

1. Derivational Rules.

The rules needed for deriving an inherent clause into another cell are briefly stated below.

Actor Addition (Add Act). This rule adds an Actor to A-set and R-set clauses and thus derives these into the transitive set. An example would be:

(SA) gor-e andar ac-e.
It is dark in the house.

Add Act /ST/ ram gor-e andar ko-la.
Ram made it dark in the house.

The Actor Addition rule either replaces the verb of the deriving clause with appropriate forms of korbar 'to do,' or it adds the causative suffix -ai to the verb stem of the deriving clause.

Focus Actor (Focus Act). This rule puts the focus on the original Actor of the transitive set of clauses. The verb of the clause takes a participial form, and the verb oibar 'to become' is added to the clause.

(T) Ram kal kun-la.
Ram dug a hole.

Focus Act /T/ ram kal kun-i oi-la.
Ram dug a hole for himself.

Actor Deletion (pv). The Actor deletion rule gives us the passive construction in Kotia Oriya. It applies only to /ST/, /T/, and /DT/ clause types which are the result of the Focus Actor rule. By deletion of the Actor from the Focus Actor clause we get the passive construction. Thus, ST derives to SR, T to R, and DT to DR.

/T/ ram kal kun-i oi-la.
Ram dug a hole for himself.

pv /R/ kal kun-i oi-la.
A hole was dug.

Undergoer Deletion (rv). When the Undergoer is deleted from a derived transitive clause to which the Focus Actor rule has been applied, we get the reflexive construction.

/T/ razu ram-ke kurai oi-la.*
Razu shaved Ram.

rv /I/ razu kurai oi-la.
Razu shaved himself.

*This derived clause is not necessarily a real language form in Kotia Oriya, but rather is a step in the reflexive derivation.

Displacement Rule (cv^1). In Kotia Oriya causativization is not an embedding rule, but rather a displacement rule. When a new Actor

(Causer) is introduced, the original Actor is displaced to the position of Goal-marked Site, and a causative morpheme (-ai) appears in the verb.

(T) ram kal kun-la.
Ram dug a hole.

cv /DT/ pratap ram-ke kal kun-ai-la.
Pratap caused Ram to dig a hole.

Causative Rule (T*/I*). This rule only adds the causative suffix -ai to the verb stem. It does not derive a clause out of its original cell. It is unique as a rule in that it applies only to derived clauses of the Transitive and Intransitive sets. It will not occur therefore in any of the figures, but will be indicated by an asterisk in the examples following a figure. Note also that T* indicates that that particular clause was derived from the last derived T or I listed above it.

Shift to Event (ev). The eventivizing rule derives a clause out of the Attributive and Stative sets into either the Receptive or Transitive set. Most of this involves the addition of some form of oibar 'to become' to the inherent clause. Specifically, if the verb of the inherent clause is ace 'to be' it changes to oibar 'to become' or to roibar 'to remain' in the case of the SemiStative clause. If the inherent clause is verbless, the appropriate form of oibar is added to the clause. If the verb of the inherent clause is something other than ace, then that verb takes the participial form, and the appropriate form of oibar is added to the clause.

(A) pani kakor ac-e.
The water is cold.

ev /R/ pani kakor oi-la.
The water became cold.

(A) sedi soTa lok.
He is a cripple.

ev /R/ sedi soTa oi-la.
He became a cripple.

(SS) ram gor-e ac-e.
Ram is in the house.

ev /ST/ ram gor-e roi-la.
Ram remained in the house.

Shift to State (sv). The stativizing rule derives a clause out of the Transitive or Receptive set into the Attributive or Stative set of clauses. The only constructional change that takes place is in the VP. The verb of a clause takes on the participial form and the stative verb ace is added.

(T) ram kal kun-la.
Ram dug a hole.

sv /S/ ram kal kun-i ac-e.
Ram has dug a hole.

(R) Dokra mo-la.
The old man died.

sv /A/ Dokra mor-i ac-e.
The old man has died.

2. Derivation Patterns.

The same set of derivational rules that has been introduced in the preceding section will now be applied to each cell of the transitivity system which is filled by an inherent clause pattern. Thereby the various derivation potentials of the inherent clauses will become apparent and provide further ground for contrasting the basic patterns with each other.

For each clause pattern a tree of derivations will be given. These trees will illustrate the applicability of the rules. The applicability or non-applicability of certain rules can be regarded as a contrastive feature to further contrast the patterns.

Conventions used in the tree diagrams are as follows:

( ) inherent clause pattern cell
/ / non-terminal node—apply cyclical rule* as indicated for each case.
+ + does not occur.
i derivation applies to inherent clauses of that cell only. (Unmarked derivation applies to both inherent as well as derived clauses in that cell.)

*a cyclical rule is marked on the tree diagram as a non-terminal node by / /. Begin the new cycle at that tree diagram which has the same item at the highest possible point.

For example in Figure 14 the node E is marked by a / /, which indicates that a cyclical rule applies to that clause. In order to obtain the full derivation potential of /E/ one must refer to the tree diagram that has E as its highest node which is given in Figure 21.

Derivations of the Circumstantial Clause Pattern.

The derivation potential of a Circumstantial clause is given in Figure 14.

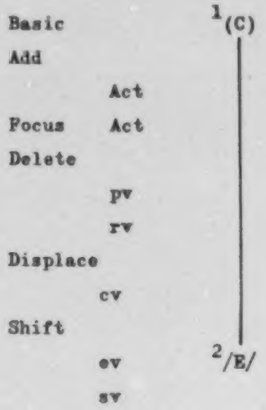


Figure 14. Derivation of a Circumstantial Clause.

Below are given the examples illustrating the derivation of a Circumstantial clause. The examples are ordered according to the raised numbers in the figure.

Circumstantial Derivations.

1) (C) puni ac-e.
It is the time of the full moon.

2) /E/ puni oi-la.
It became the time of the full moon.

C puni oi ac-e.
It has become the time of the full moon.

I mapru puni ko-la.
God made the time of the full moon.

D mapru puni kor-i ac-e.
God has made the time of the full moon.

I mapru puni kor-ai-la.
God caused (someone) to make the time of the full moon.

D mapru puni kor-ai ac-e.
God has caused (someone) to make the time of the full moon.

Derivations of the SemiAttributive Clause Pattern with Locative Site. The derivation potential of a SemiAttributive clause with Locative Site is given in Figure 15.

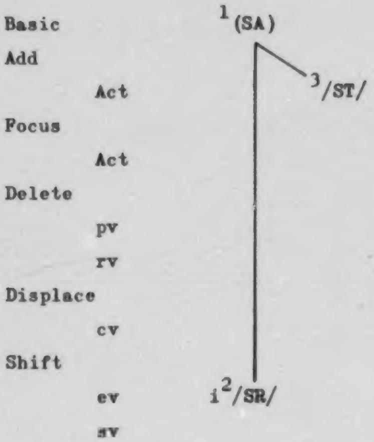


Figure 15. Derivation of a SemiAttributive Clause with Locative Site.

SemiAttributive Derivations with Locative Site.

1) (SA) gor-e andar ac-e.
It is dark in the house.

2) i/SR/ gor-e andar oi-la.
It became dark in the house.

SA gor-e andar oi ac-e.
It has become dark in the house.

3) ST ram gor-e andar ko-la.
Ram made it dark in the house.

SS ram gor-e andar kor-i ac-e.
Ram has made it dark in the house.

ST ram gor-e andar kor-ai-la.
Ram caused (someone) to make it dark in the house.

SS ram gor-e andar kor-ai ac-e.
Ram has caused (someone) to make it dark in the house.

Derivations of the SemiAttributive Clause Pattern with Goal Site. The derivation potential of a SemiAttributive clause with Goal Site is given in Figure 16.

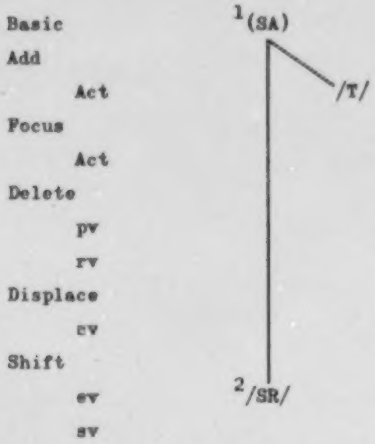


Figure 16. Derivation of a SemiAttributive Clause with Goal Site.

SemiAttributive Derivations with Goal Site.

1) (SA) pila-ke zor ac-e.
The child has a fever.

2) /SR/ pila-ke zor ai-la.
The child came down with a fever.

SA pila-ke zor as-i ac-e.
The child has come down with a fever.

3) /T/ kiRa pila-ke zor ko-la.
The bug gave the child a fever.

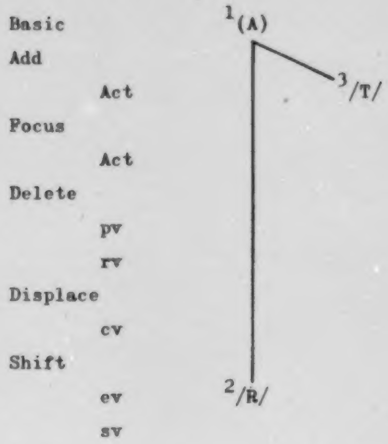
S kiRa pila-ke zor kor-i ac-e.
The bug has given the child a fever.

T* kiRa pila-ke zor kor-ai-la.
The bug caused the child to become feverish.

S kiRa pila-ke zor kor-ai ac-e.
The bug has caused the child to become feverish.

*Note: The addition of an Actor results in a derivational history that merges with that of Attributive clauses, which see.

Derivations of the Attributive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of an Attributive Clause is given in Figure 17.


Basic
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ev
sv
1(A)
3/T/
2/R/

Figure 17. Derivations of an Attributive Clause.

Attributive Derivations.

1) (A) sedi soTa lok.
He is a cripple.

2) /R/ sedi soTa oi-la.
He became a cripple.

A sedi soTa oi ac-e.
He has become a cripple.

3) /T/ mapru ta-ke soTa ko-la.
God made him a cripple.

S mapru ta-ke soTa kor-i ac-e.
God has made him a cripple.

T* mapru ta-ke soTa kor-ai-la.
God caused (someone) to cripple him.

S mapru ta-ke soTa kor-ai ac-e.
God has caused (someone) to cripple him.

Derivations of the DiAttributive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a DiAttributive Clause is given in Figure 18.

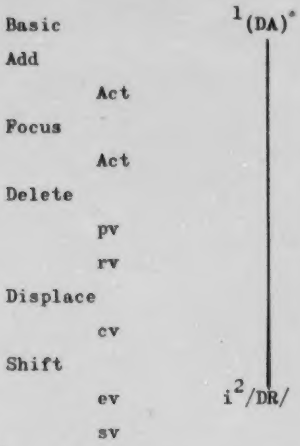

Basic
^{1}(DA)*
Add
Act
Focus
Act
Delete
pv
rv
Displace
cv
Shift
ev
i^{2}/DR/
sv

Figure 18. Derivations of a DiAttributive Clause.

1) (DA) gaD-e mac ac-ot.
There are fish in the river.

2) i/DR/ gaD-e mac oi-lai.
There appeared fish in the river.

DA gaD-e mac oi ac-ot.
There have appeared fish in the river.

Note: With inanimate Undergoers the derivational potential is nil.

Derivations of the SemiStative Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a SemiStative clause is given in Figure 19.

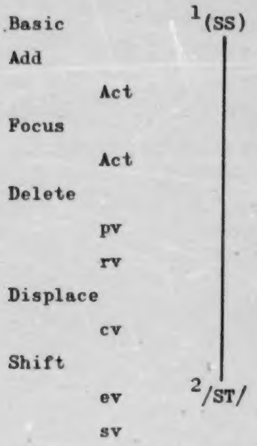


Figure 19. Derivations of a SemiStative Clause.

1) (SS) ram gor-e ac-e.
Ram is in the house.

2) /ST/ ram gor-e roi-la.
Ram stayed in the house.

/SS/ + +

DT aba ram-ke gor-e ru-ai-la.
The father caused Ram to stay in the house.

Note: With inanimate Statants the derivation potential is nil.

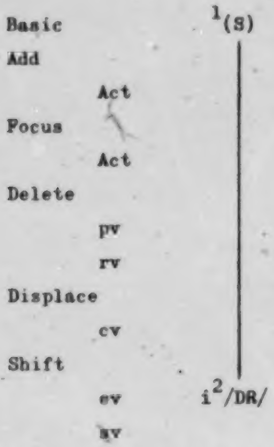
Derivations of the Stative Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a Stative clause is given in Figure 20.

1) (S) ram-ke mui zan-i.
I know Ram.

2) i/DR/ mo-ke ram zan-i oi-la.
Ram became known to me.

DA mo-ke ram zan-i oi ac-e.
Ram has become known to me.

Derivations of the Eventive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of an Eventive Clause is given in Figure 21.


Basic
Add
Act
Focus
Act
Delete
pv
rv
Displace
cv
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ev
sv
1(S)
i2/DR/

Figure 20. Derivations of a Stative Clause.

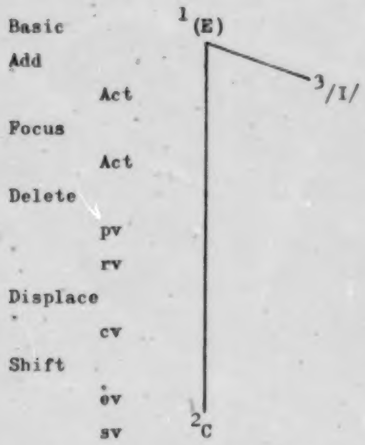

Basic
Add
Act
Focus
Act
Delete
pv
rv
Displace
cv
Shift
ev
sv
1(E)
3/I/
2C

Figure 21. Derivations of an Eventive Clause

Eventive Derivations.

1) (E) sakal pai-la.
It dawned.

2) C sakal pai ac-e.
It has dawned.

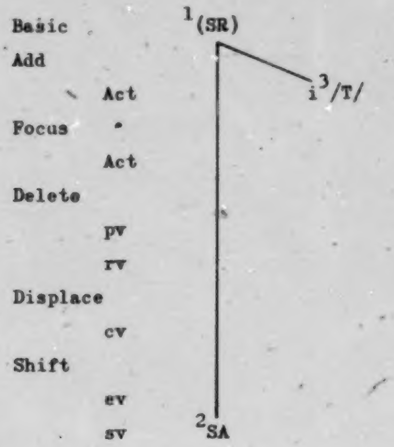
3) /I/ mapru sakal ko-la.
God made it dawn.

D mapru sakal kor-i ac-e.
God has made it dawn.

I* mapru sakal kor-ai-la.
God caused (someone) to make it dawn.

D mapru sakal kor-ai ac-e.
God has caused (someone) to make it dawn.

Derivations of the SemiReceptive Clause Pattern with Animate Site. The derivation potential of a SemiReceptive Clause is given in Figure 22.


Basic
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Act
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Act
Delete
pv
rv
Displace
cv
Shift
ev
sv
1(SR)
i3/T/
2SA

Figure 22. Derivations of a SemiReceptive Clause with *Animate Site*.

SemiReceptive Derivations.

1) (SR) mo-ke porson oi-la.
I had a vision.

2) SA mo-ke porson oi ac-e.
I have had a vision.

3) i/T/ mapru mo-ke porson ko-la.
God gave me a vision.

S mapru mo-ke porson kor-i ac-e.
God has given me a vision.

T* mapru mo-ke porson kor-ai-la.
God caused (someone) to give me a vision.

S mapru mo-ke porson kor-ai ac-e.
God has caused (someone) to give me a vision.

Derivations of the SemiReceptive Clause Pattern with Inanimate Site. The derivation potential of a SemiReceptive Clause with inanimate Site is given in Figure 23.

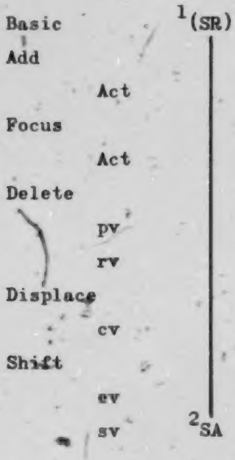


Figure 23. Derivations of a SemiReceptive Clause with inanimate Site.

SemiReceptive Derivations.

1) (SR) nonir peTe pila oi-la.
The girl became pregnant.

2) SA nonir peTe pila oi ac-e.
The girl has become pregnant.

Derivations of the Receptive Clause Pattern with animate Undergoer and Predicate Extension. The derivation potential of a Receptive Clause with animate Undergoer and Predicate Extension is given in Figure 24.

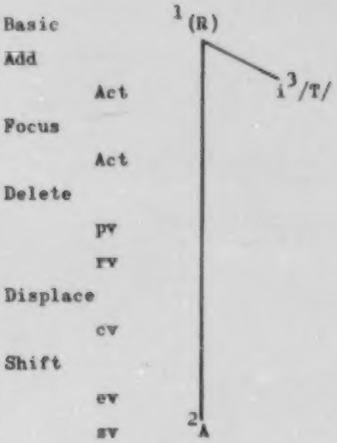


Figure 24. Derivations of a Receptive Clause with *animate Undergoer and Predicate Extension*.

Receptive Derivations.

1) (R) sedi bama oi-la.
He became amazed.

2) A sedi bama oi ac-e.
He has become amazed.

3) i/T/ ram ta-ke bama ko-la.
Ram amazed him.

S ram ta-ke bama kor-i ac-e.
Ram has amazed him.

T* pratap ta-ke bama kor-ai-la.
Pratap caused (someone) to amaze him.

S pratap ta-ke bama kor-ai ac-e.
Pratap has caused (someone) to amaze him.

Derivations of the Receptive Clause Pattern with animate Undergoer but without Predicate Extension. The derivation potential of a Receptive Clause with animate Undergoer but without Predicate Extension is given in Figure 25.

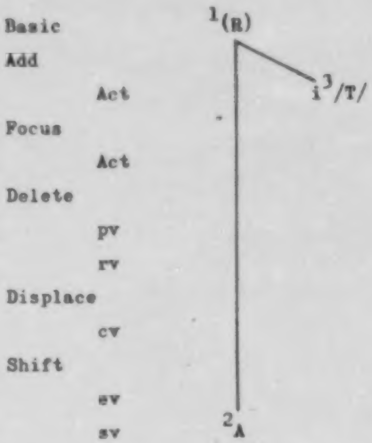


Figure 25. Derivations of a Receptive Clause with animate Undergoer but without Predicate Extension.

Receptive Derivation.

1) (R) Dokra mo-la.
The old man died.

2) A Dokra mor-i ac-e.
The old man has died.

3) i/T/ bag Dokra-ke mor-ai-la.
The tiger killed the old man.

S bag Dokra-ke mor-ai ac-e.
The tiger has killed the old man.

Derivations of the DiReceptive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a DiReceptive Clause is given in Figure 26.

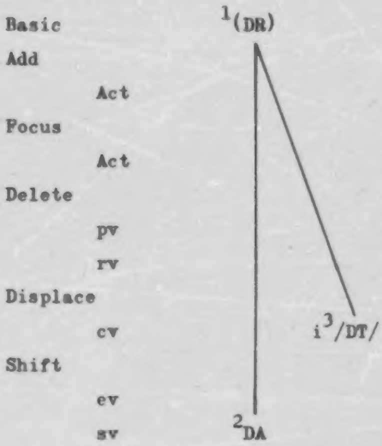
DiReceptive Derivations.

1) (DR) seli Dongr-e az-la.
The goat got lost in the mountains.

2) DA seli Dongr-e az-i ac-e.
The goat has gotten lost in the mountains.

3) i/DT/ goRu seli Dongr-e az-ai-la.
The shepherd caused the goat to get lost in the mountains.

DS goRu seli Dongr-e az-ai ac-e.
The shepherd has caused the goat to get lost in the mountains.


Basic
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1(DR)
i3/DT/
2DA

Figure 26. Derivations of a DiReceptive Clause.

Derivations of the Intransitive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of an Intransitive Clause is given in Figure 27.

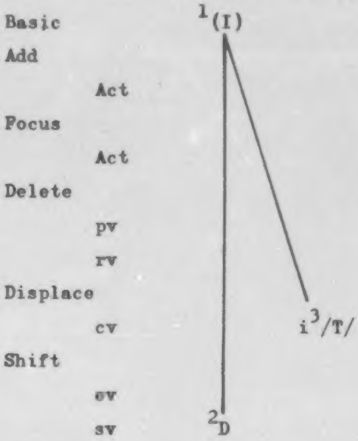

Basic
Add
Act
Focus
Act
Delete
pv
rv
Displace
cv
Shift
ev
sv
1(I)
i3/T/
2D

Figure 27. Derivations of an Intransitive Clause.

Intransitive Derivations.

1) (I) bag ankar-la.
The tiger growled.

2) D bag ankr-i ac-e.
The tiger has growled.

3) i/T/ lok bag-ke ankr-ai-lai.
The people caused the tiger to growl.

S lok bag-ke ankr-ai ac-e.
The people have caused the tiger to growl.

Derivations of the Intransitive Clause Pattern with Predicate Extension. The derivation potential of an Intransitive Clause with Predicate Extension is given in Figure 28.

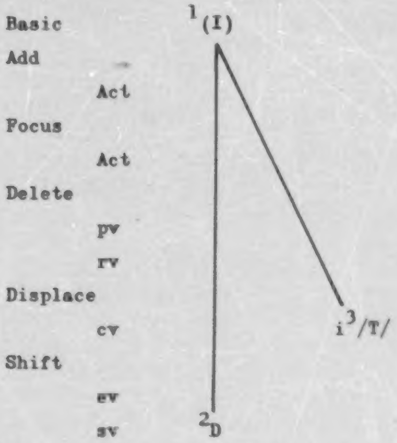


Figure 23. Derivations of an Intransitive Clause with *Predicate Extension*.

Intransitive Derivations.

1) (I) ram bisram ko-la.
Ram took a rest.

2) D ram bisram kor-i ac-e.
Ram has taken a rest.

3) i/T/**pratap ram-ke bisram kor-ai-la.
Pratap caused Ram to take a rest.

* S pratap ram-ke bisram kor-ai ac-e.
Pratap has caused Ram to take a rest.

I pratap bisram kor-i oi-la.
Pratap took a rest for himself.

D pratap bisram kor-i oi ac-e.
Pratap has taken a rest for himself.

**Note that the following derivation pattern applies only to Transitive Clauses with Animate Undergoer Orientation. See Figure 32.

Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause Pattern. The derivation potential of a SemiTransitive Clause is given in Figure 29.

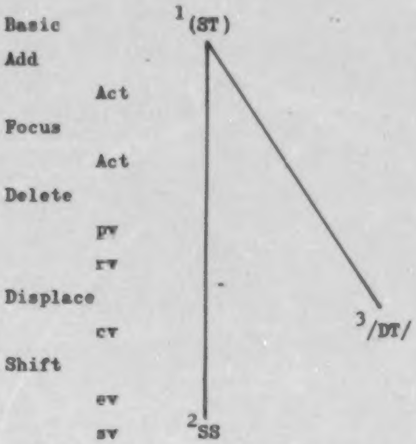


Figure 29. Derivations of a SemiTransitive Clause.

SemiTransitive Derivation.

1) (ST) makRi goc-e sog-la.
The monkey climbed the tree.

2) SS makRi goc-e sog-i ac-e.
The monkey has climbed the tree.

3) /DT/ bag makRi-ke goc-e sog-ai-la.
The tiger caused the monkey to climb the tree.

DS bag makRi-ke goc-e sog-ai ac-e.
The tiger has caused the monkey to climb the tree.

Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern with Actor Orientation. The derivation potential of a Transitive Clause with Actor Orientation is given in Figure 30.

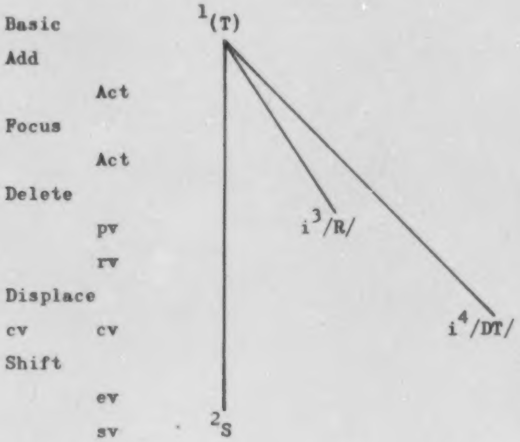


Figure 30. Derivation of a Transitive Clause with Actor Orientation.

Transitive Derivations.

1) (T) ram pani Dunk-la.
Ram drank water.

2) S ram pani Dunk-i ac-e.
Ram has drunk water.

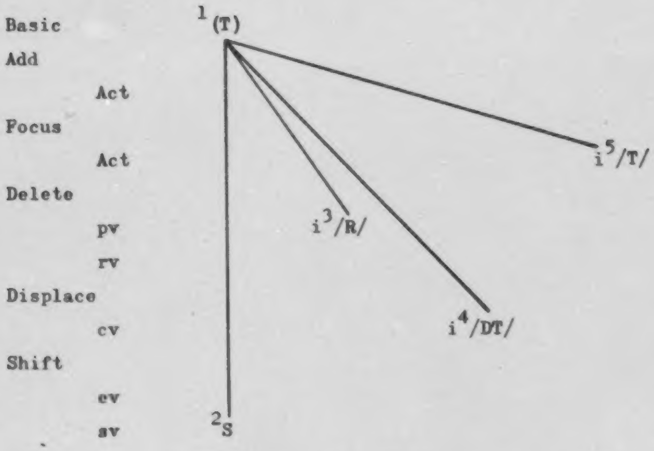
3) i/R/ pani Dunk-i oi-la.
The water was drunk.

A pani Dunk-i oi ac-e.
The water has been drunk.

4) i/DT/ mui ram-ke pani Dunk-ai-la.
I caused Ram to drink water.

DS mui ram-ke pani Dunk-ai ac-e.
I have caused Ram to drink water.

Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern with Undergoer Orientation. The derivation potential of a Transitive Clause with Undergoer Orientation is given in Figure 31.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^{1}(T)
i^5/T/
i^3/R/
i^4/DT/
^{2}S

Figure 31. Derivation of a Transitive Clause with Undergoer Orientation.

Transitive Derivations.

1) (T) ram kal kun-la.
Ram dug a hole.

2) S ram kal kun-i ac-e.
Ram has dug a hole.

3) i/R/ kal kun-i oi-la.
The hole got dug.

A kal kun-i oi ac-e.
The hole has gotten dug.

4) i/DT/ pratap ram-ke kal kun-ai-la.
Pratap caused Ram to dig a hole.

DS pratap ram-ke kal kun-ai ac-e.
Pratap has caused Ram to dig a hole.

5) /T/ ram kal kun-i oi-la.
Ram dug a hole for himself.

S ram kal kun-i oi ac-e.
Ram has dug a hole for himself.

Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern with Animate Undergoer Orientation. The derivation potential of a Transitive Clause with Animate Undergoer Orientation. The derivation potential of a Transitive Clause with Animate Undergoer Orientation is given in Figure 32.

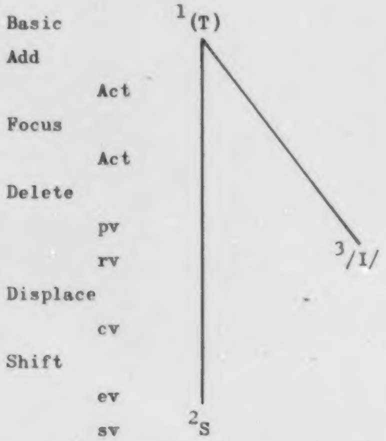


Figure 32. Derivation of a Transitive Clause with Animate Undergoer Orientation.

Transitive Derivation.

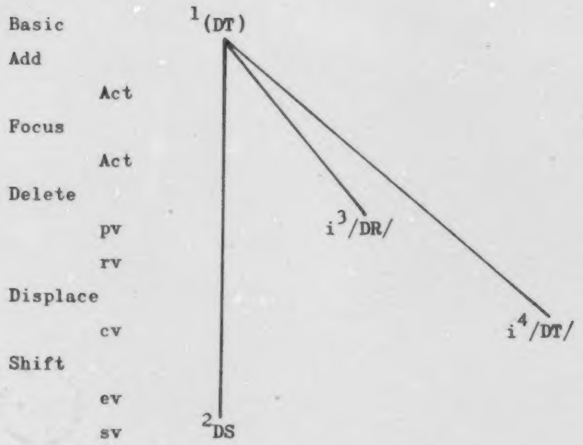
1) T ram to-ke kurai-la.
Ram shaved you.

2) S ram to-ke kurai ac-e.
Ram has shaved you.

3) /I/ ram kurai oi-la.
Ram shaved himself.

D ram kurai oi ac-e.
Ram has shaved himself.

Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause Pattern with Goal-marked Site. The derivation potential of a DiTransitive Clause with Goal-marked Undergoer is given in Figure 33.


Basic
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Act
Delete
pv
rv
Displace
cv
Shift
ev
sv
1(DT)
i3/DR/
i4/DT/
2DS

Figure 33. Derivation of a DiTransitive Clause with *Goal-marked Site*.

DiTransitive Derivation.

1) (DT) ram pratap-ke pol de-la.
Ram gave fruit to Pratap.

2) DS ram pratap-ke pol de ac-e.
Ram has given fruit to Pratap.

3) i/DR/ pol pratap-ke de oi-la.
Fruit was given to Pratap.

DA pol pratap-ke de oi ac-e.
Fruit has been given to Pratap.

4) i/DT/ razu pratap-ke pol di-ai-la.
Razu caused (someone) to give fruit to Pratap.

DS razu pratap-ke pol di-ai ac-e.
Razu has caused (someone) to give fruit to Pratap.

Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause Pattern with dummy causatives. The derivation potential of a DiTransitive Clause with dummy causative is given in Figure 34.

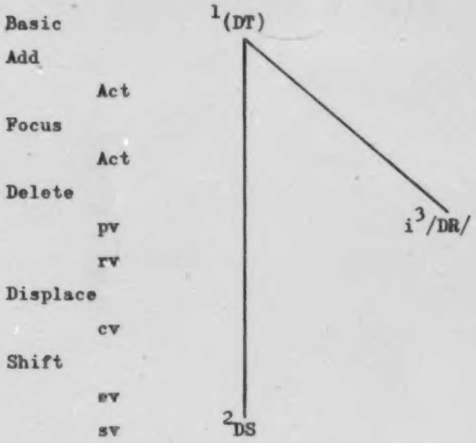

Figure 34. Derivation of a DiTransitive Clause with *dummy causative*.

DiTransitive Derivations.

1) (DT) ram kot beDa-i pakai-la.
Ram applied fertilizer on the paddy.

2) DS ram kot beDa-i pakai ac-e.
Ram has applied fertilizer on the paddy.

3) i/DR/ kot beDa-i pakai oi-la.
Fertilizer was applied to the paddy.

DA kot beDa-i pakai oi ac-e.
Fertilizer has been applied to the paddy.

Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause Pattern with Inanimate Actor. The derivation potential of a DiTransitive Clause with Inanimate Actor is given in Figure 35.

DiTransitive Derivations.

1) (DT) basu pratap-ke patna ne-la.
The bus took Pratap to the city.

2) DS basu pratap-ke patna ne ac-e.
The bus has taken Pratap to the city.

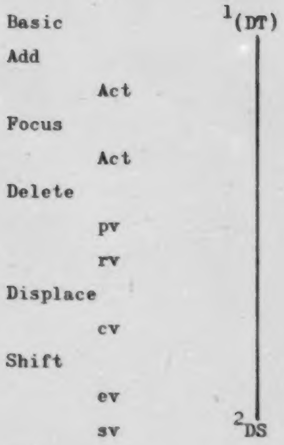

Figure 35. Derivation of a DiTransitive Clause with Inanimate Actor.

E. Dependent Patterns.

Here we present a brief description of some commonly found dependent clauses and their distribution in the grammatical hierarchy. In Figure 36 the clause form plus its distribution is shown. The vertical dimension shows the form of the verb of the clause plus or minus other relators. The horizontal dimension indicates the distribution of the clause in either phrase, clause or sentence level slots. Following the matrix examples are given of the dependent clauses in the order in which they are seen in the vertical dimension of the matrix. The outline, however, corresponds to the horizontal dimension as it proceeds from left to right. Each example shows not only the dependent clause, but also the complete context in which it is functioning.

Note: The numbers 1 through 6 at the top of the matrix stand for the following:

1. Conditional/Temporal Dependent Clauses
2. Attributive Dependent Clauses
3. Reason Dependent Clauses
4. -ba-ke Dependent Clauses (Purpose, Subject and Temporal-Sequence Dependent Clauses)
5. Temporal-Sequence Dependent Clauses
6. Temporal Dependent Clauses.

Distribution Affix/Relator	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.1 vs. + -le	X					
1.2 vs. + -la ale	X					
1.3 vs. + -bar ale	X					
2.1 vs. + -la		X				
2.2 vs. + -er		X				
3 vs. + -la-ke			X			
4.1 vs. + -ba-ke				X		
4.2 vs. + -ba-ke				X		
4.3 vs. + -ba-ke				X		
5.1 vs. + -i kor-i					X	
5.2 vs. + -la ze					X	
5.3 vs. + -bar-ni					X	
6 vs. + -la poce						X

Figure 36. Distribution of Dependent Patterns.

Examples of Dependent Clauses.

1. Conditional/Temporal Dependent Clauses.

These clauses fill the conditional margin in Condition-Result sentences.

1.1 vs. + -le

mui oso kai-le bol oi-li.
When I ate madicine, I became well.

amu e dese roi-le bol ac-e.
It is good for us if we stay in this country.

tui mo-ke koi-le mui to-ke de-bi.
If you tell me, I'll give (it) to you.

dui aT oi-le e paiti sar-i zai-si.
When two weeks have gone, this work will be completed.

1.2 vs. + -la ale

mui oso kai-li ale bol oi-bi.
If I eat medicine, I'll become well.

sedi to-ke mar-la ale tui odr-i zi-bar.
If he hits you, you will fall.

1.3 vs. + -bar ale

mui oso kai-bar ale bol oi-ti.
If I would eat medicine, I would become well.

tui gor band-bar ale toke Dabu de-bi.
If you will build a house, I will give you the money.

2. Attributive Dependent Clauses.

These clauses fill the attributive slot in noun phrases as shown in the examples below.

2.1 vs. + -la.

It seems to make little difference whether the noun modified is human or non-human.

mui kai-la oso mui bol oi-li.
The medicine which I ate made me well.

e lok ko-la paiti bol ac-e.
The work that these people did is good.

se ai-la lok ramor gore ga-lai.
Those people who came went to Ram's house.

e gor band-la lok bin gang oni ai-lai.
These people who built this house came from another village.

2.2 vs. + -er.

So far the only verb taking this form is the verb ace 'to be.'

tomor gore ac-er pila bol pul gunt-si.
The boy who is in your house binds flowers well.

3. Reason Dependent Clauses.

The form of the verb is the past tense, inflected for person-number plus the suffix -ke.

mui oso kai-li-ke mo-ke bol oi-la.
Because I ate medicine, I got well.

Dokra e gau: ga-la-ke se lok duiTa bolod de-lai.
Because the old man went into this village, those people gave him two bulls.

4. -ba-ke Dependent Clauses.

This form of dependent clause is the most versatile, being distributed in three different slots--Purpose, Subject, and Temporal-Sequence.

4.1 Purpose, vs. + -ba-ke.

mung kai-ba-ke paruamon ai-lai.
The pigeons came to eat the pulse.

sag bik-ba-ke amu aTe ga-lung.
We went to the market to sell vegetables.

4.2 Subject, vs. + -ba-ke.

ta-ke daru an-ba-ke besi kosTu ac-e.
Bringing home firewood is very difficult for him.

4.3 Temporal-Sequence, vs. + -ba-ke.

mui oso kai-ba-ke zor ga-la.
Having eaten the medicine, the fever went.

5. Temporal-Sequence.

This division includes three different forms of dependent clauses, all of which seem to mean roughly 'action-just-prior-to-another-action.'

5.1 vs. + -i kor-i.

This is a very frequently used means of expressing sequential action. The difference between this construction and the Conditional/Temporal construction with -le is not quite clear. It may be that this construction is focussing more on sequence whereas the -le construction focuses more on the time of the happening of the main verb.

mui oso kai kor-i bol oi-li.
Having eaten medicine, I became well.

se bag as-i kor-i tar pilamonke dud ku-ai-la.
That tiger having come, she fed her cubs milk.

5.2 vs. + -la ze.

As the form mentioned in 5.1 parallels the Conditional/Temporal construction with -le, so this form seems to parallel the Conditional-Temporal construction with -la ale. Note that in the following examples the gloss 'when' for ze is perfectly acceptable.

mui oso kai-li ze bol oi-li.
Having eaten medicine, I became well.

sedi mo-ke koi-la ze gore ga-la.
Having spoken to me, he went home.

5.3 vs. + -bar-ni.

This construction expresses immediate sequence.

mui oso kai-bar-ni bol oi-li.
As soon as I ate the medicine I became well.

bag dek-bar-ni bonde uTi ga-la.
As soon as the tiger looked around he went into the jungle.

6. Temporal.

This dependent clause seems to mean 'prior-action-to-the-independent-clause.' It has a more general temporal meaning than the Temporal-Sequential above. It is formed by suffixing to the verb stem the past tense form -la plus the free form poce 'after.'

kete din ga-la poce mui ar ai-bi.
After many days have passed, I'll come again.

goTek boros ga-la poce amu iti ai-bung.
After one year has gone, we'll come back here.

Abbreviations.

A/a	Attributive
abstr	abstract
Act	Actor
anim	animate
AP	Adjective Phrase
attrib	attributive
C/c	Circumstantial
concr	concrete

Cpl	complement
cv	causativizing
D	Descriptive
DA/da	DiAttributive
DR/dr	DiReceptive
DS	DiStative
DT/dt	DiTransitive
E/e	Eventive
ev	eventivizing
Evt	Event
Gol	Goal
hum	human
I/i	Intransitive
inanim	inanimate
IO	Indirect Object
Loc	locative
non-hum	non-human
NP	noun phrase
O	Object
P	Predicate
Pex	predicate extension
pv	passive
R/r	Receptive
Ref	Referent
S/s	Stative (Box 4/5 label)
S	Subject (Box 1 label)
SA/sa	SemiAttributive
Sit	Site
SR/sr	SemiReceptive
Src	source
SS/ss	SemiStative
ST/st	SemiTransitive
Sta	Statant
sv	stativizing
T/t	Transitive
Umk	unmarked
Und	Undergoer
VP	verb phrase
vs	verb stem
( )	inherent clause type

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Clause Patterns in Kupia

R. B. and J. E. Christmas

A. Introduction.

The Language. The Kupia language belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. It is spoken in the Munchinput, Aruku, and Paderu Blocks of Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh, and in the adjacent Koraput District of Orissa, India.

The people who speak the language are called Valmiki. Some claim they descend from the famous poet Maharsi Valmiki. They belong to the Valmiki Scheduled Tribe of India.

The word Kupia does not occur in the 1961 census of India. The word Valmiki does occur, and is recorded as the name of a language spoken by eight people living in Andhra Pradesh State, but not in Visakhapatnam District. We have chosen the name Kupia instead of Valmiki since the people themselves refer to their language as Kupia. It was evident during the 1971 census that the people whose mother tongue is Kupia gave the regional language, Telugu, as their mother tongue. We consider that at least 6,000 people have Kupia as their mother tongue.

The work, The Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh (1963) records of the people, "They speak a corrupt form of Oriya." As far as we are aware, no study of any depth has been made of the Kupia language.

Our judgment that Kupia is an Indo-Aryan language is based on comparative vocabulary and grammar studies. However, since many of the speakers are living in Andhra Pradesh, where Telugu is the regional language, there are many Telugu loan words in the language. These are from Dravidian roots, or Indo-Aryan roots having come via Telugu (a Dravidian language). A few words have a clear English origin.

Purpose of Paper. The purpose of this paper is threefold: firstly to provide some materials on the Kupia language; secondly to make these materials available for comparison with other languages, particularly Indo-Aryan languages; thirdly to be a companion article to the paper, "Kupia Sentence Patterns" written by the authors and occurring in

Volume 1 of this report. The distribution of independent and dependent clauses that are exponents of Sentence level slots is shown in the Kupia sentence paper.

Research Details. This paper is a study on the Kupia language as spoken by the people of the village of Sujanakota, Munchinput Block, Andhra Pradesh, India. During the past three years the authors have spent approximately eight months actually living in the village. For a further nine months language helpers have been readily available. During the months of January and February 1972, Mr. Christmas attended a workshop held on the campus of Andhra University under the joint auspices of the Andhra University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Two language helpers have assisted us during most of this period, others helping in occasional checking. These are Mr. G. Kamiswarao, about 25 years of age, and Mr. G. Surayya, about 20 years of age. Both are Valmiki Scheduled Tribal men of Sujanakota village. Mr. Samma Reddi Rajayya, and an elderly lady, Kamesili, gave us several texts which we have recorded. These stories, as well as those told by the above named language helpers, have provided a valuable source of language material.

Analysis Model. Tagmemics as conceived by Dr. Kenneth L. Pike provides the theoretical background for this paper, while the basic approach has been provided by Dr. Austin Hale.

Script. Illustrative examples throughout the text use the Kupia phonemes shown in Figure 1.

Consonants	labial	dental	alveolar	velar
stops	p	t	T	k
	b	d	D	g
affricates			c	
			j	
fricative			s	
nasals	m	n		ng
flap			r	
lateral			l	
semivowels	w		y	

Vowels	front	central	back	
high	i		u	
mid	e		o	/nasalization/*
low		a		/length/**

Figure 1. Kupia Phonemes.

*Nasalization is phonemic and occurs on all vowels. It is symbolized by a colon after the vowel (v:).

**Length is phonemic and occurs on all vowels. It is symbolized by doubling of the vowel (vv).

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f) The help of computors. The IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma processed 112 pages of typewritten texts and arranged it into a concordance. This concordance was of immense help in syntactic analysis. It was made possible by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, sponsored by Grant No. 65-1605 of the National Science Foundation.

B. Basic Patterns.

1. The Contrastive System.

1.1 The Role Marker System in Kupia.

Clauses in a language can be contrasted and categorized in various ways. In the present paper it is our purpose to show how various combinations of the three primary roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site are useful in producing a sememic classification of Kupia clause patterns. The roles may be viewed as corresponding to a set of case relations. They are central to the description of the derivational history of a clause. The purpose of this section is to show how these three roles are marked in Kupia.

Transitivity Matrix Covering State and Event Categories. Combinations of the three primary roles—Actor, Undergoer, and Site—result in the following matrix of eight cells, called the Transitivity System.

		+ Sit	+ Und	+ Sit + Und
Receptive set – Actor	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Di-Receptive
Transitive set + Actor	Intransitive	SemiTransitive	Transitive	DiTransitive

Figure 2. The Transitivity System.

In addition, work on the organization of Narrative Discourse has led to a further contrasting parameter for clauses. This is the contrast of *Event* vs. *State*. If this distinction is added to the Transitivity Matrix, the Transitivity System is doubled. This is shown in Figure 3.

		+ Sit	+ Und	+ Sit + Und
State – Actor	Circumstantial	Semi-Attributive	Attributive	DiAttributive
+ Actor	Descriptive	Semi-Stative	Stative	DiStative
Event – Actor	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	DiReceptive
+ Actor	Intransitive	Semi-transitive	Transitive	DiTransitive

Figure 3. The Full Transitivity System Showing the Distinction Between State and Event.

Normal Role Markers in Kupia. The correlation between markers and roles is basic to the identification of contrastive clause patterns in Kupia. In Figures 4 to 8 the normal markers have been summarized for the nuclear roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site within each of the transitivity patterns. Cells in which a given role cannot occur (by definition of the Transitivity pattern) are marked by three hyphens. Cells for which no appropriate examples of a given role have been found are marked by empty parentheses.

The clauses below each figure illustrate the normal markers. The forms referred to by labels in the figures are underlined in the examples. M stands for marker and R for Role.

C —	SA —	A —	DA —
D ( )	SS ( )	S ( )	DS ( )
E —	SR —	R —	DR —
I Umk	ST Umk	T Umk	DT Umk

Figure 4. Normal Actor Markers for Animate Actors and Inanimate Actors.

I booda eeD-lo.
M child Umk cry-pa 3s P
R Act Evt
The child cried.

ST jeewu eek gurute ge-la.
M they Umk one teacher to Gol go-pa 3pl P
R Act Sit Evt
They went to a teacher.

T aam geeru band-ilam.
M we Umk house Umk build-pa 1 pl P
R Act Und Evt
We built a house.

DT naaDi boodaka jooDlu gal-li.
M girl Umk child on Gol shoes Umk put-pa 3s P
R Act Sit Und Evt
The girl put shoes on the child.

C —	SA —	A Umk	DA Umk
D —	SS —	S ( )	DS ( )
E —	SR —	R Umk	DR Umk
I —	ST —	T Gol (-ka)	DT Gol (-ka)

Figure 5. Normal Undergoer Markers for Animate Undergoers.

A nilayya cengngilo as-e.
M Nilayya Umk good be-3s P
R Und Cpl St
Nilayya is good.

DA amka eeku maansu as-e.
M we to Gol one person Umk be-3s P
R Sit Und
We have one servant.

R booda jerm-ilan.
M child Umk be born-pa 3s P
R Und Evt
A child was born.

DR angka maansu Diis-ili.
M me to Gol person Umk appear-pa 3s P
R Sit Und Evt
A person appeared to me.

T jeewu maansu-ka peT-la.
M they Umk person-to Gol hit-pa 3pl P
R Act Und Evt
They hit the man.

DT aam maansu-ka ceTT-e banda d-ilam.
M we Umk person-to Gol tree-to Loc build give-pa 1pl P
R Act Und Sit Evt
We tied the man to the tree.

C ---	SA ---	A Umk	DA Umk
D ---	SS ---	S ( )	DS ( )
E ---	SR ---	R Umk	DR Umk
I ---	ST ---	T Umk	DT Umk

Figure 6. Normal Undergoer Markers for Inanimate Undergoers.

A geeru cengngilo as-e.
M house Umk good be-3s P
R Und Cpl St
The house is good.

DA aamka eeku geeru as-e.
M we to Gol one house Umk be-3s P
R Sit Und St

We have one house.

R kaam keeD-li.
M work Umk finish-pa 3s P
R Und Evt
The work is finished.

DR ang-ka geeru Diis-ili.
M me-to Gol house Umk appear-pa 3s P
R Sit Und Evt
A house appeared to me.

T aam geeru band-ilam.
M we Umk house Umk build-pa 1pl P
R Act Und Evt
We built the house.

DT jo peeD-e kaawaDi gal-lo.
M he Umk verandah-on Loc bundle Umk threw-pa 3s P
R Act Sit Und Evt
He threw a bundle onto the verandah.

Notes on Undergoer Role. In Figure 6 is was noted that inanimate Undergoers are not marked in any of the clause types in Kupia. However, the verbs dekuka 'to see' and peTuka 'to hit' have been found to optionally take a marked Undergoer. In Kupia the Undergoer is marked by -ka.

T aam geeru dek-ilam.
M we Umk house Umk see-pa 1pl P
R Act Und Evt
We saw the house.

T aam geeru-ka dek-ilam.
M we Umk house-to Loc see-pa 1pl P
R Act Und Evt
We saw the house.

C —	SA ( )	A —	DA Gol
D —	SS ( )	S —	DS ( )
E —	SR ( )	R —	DR Gol
I —	ST Gol/Src	T —	DT Gol/Src

Figure 7. Normal Site Markers for Animate-Goal and Animate-Source Sites.

DA jo raano-ka sattu jiina tersiwo as-ti.
M that king-Gol seven people wives Umk be-3pl P
R Sit Und St
That king has seven wives.

DR ang-ka maansu Diis-ili.
M me-to Gol person Umk appear-pa 3s P
R Sit Und Evt
A person appeared to me.

ST jeewu eek guru-te ge-la.
M they Umk one teacher-to Gol go-pa 3pl P
R Act Sit Evt
They went to a teacher.

DT aa:wu tu-ka kabburu d-ilayi
M I Umk you-to Gol message Umk give-pa 1s P
R Act Sit Und Evt
I gave a message to you.

ST jeewu guru tento a-yila.
M they Umk teacher from Src come-pa 3pl P
R Act Sit Evt
They came from the teacher.

DT tuuwi saamani am-te tento aan-ladi.
M you Umk goods Umk we-to from Src bring-pa 2pl P
R Act Und Sit
You brought goods from us.

C —	SA ( )	A —	DA Loc
D —	SS ( )	S —	DS ( )
E —	SR ( )	R —	DR Loc
I —	ST Loc-Src	T —	DT Loc/Src

Figure 8. Normal Site Markers for Inanimate-Location and Inanimate-Source Sites.

DA gerr-i kurciwo as-ti.
M house-in Loc chairs Umk be-3pl P
R Sit Und St
The chairs are in the house.

DR eek addum-te jowaci mokkum Diis-ili.
M one mirror-on Loc his face Umk appear-pa 3s P
R Sit Und Evt
His face appeared in a mirror.

ST jeewu eek guruci gerr-i ge-la.
M they Umk one teacher's house-in Loc go-pa 3pl P
R Act Sit Evt
They went to a teacher's house.

DT aa:wu posT appis-te kabburu d-ilayi.
M I Umk post office-to Loc message Umk give-pa 1s P
R Act Sit Und Evt
I gave a message to the post office.

ST maansu gerr-i tinto baar ja-lo.
M person Umk house-in from Src out become-pa 3s P
R Act Sit Evt
A person came out from the house.

DT tuuwi saamani santa-yi tinto aan-ladi.
M you Umk goods Umk market-in from Src bring-pa 2s P
R Act Und Sit Evt
You brought goods from the market.

Notes on Site Role. The role of Site in Kupia is always marked. Animate Site markers are -ka and -te, while inanimate location markers are -i, -e, -te, -ka, and others. The most frequently used inanimate source marker is tinto 'from'.

Normal Role Markers on the Verb.

C —	SA —	A —	DA —
D ( )	SS ( )	S ( )	DS ( )
E —	SR —	R —	DR —
I Act	ST Act	T Act	DT Act

Figure 9. Normal Actor Agreement in Kupia Verbs.

The following examples are to illustrate agreement between Actor role and Predicate in the Kupia clause. Examples are given first for Class 1 verbs, and then for Class 2 verbs. For a fuller treatment of verb morphology see Section C.

a) Class 1 verbs.

DT aa:wu naaDu-ka banti d-ilayi.
I Umk child-to Gol ball Umk gave-pa 1s P
Act Sit Und Evt
I gave the ball to the boy.

tuuwi naaDu-ka banti d-iladi.	You gave the ball to the boy.
jo naaDu-ka banti d-ilo.	He gave the ball to the boy.
ja naaDu-ka banti d-ili.	She gave the ball to the boy.
maansu naaDu-ka banti d-ilan.	The person gave the ball to the boy.
aam naaDu-ka banti d-ilam.	We gave the ball to the boy.
tuumu naaDu-ka banti d-iladu	You (pl) gave the ball to the boy.
jeewu naaDu-ka banti d-ila.	They gave the ball to the boy.

T aa:wu kaam ker-layi.
I Umk work Umk do-pa 1s P
Act Und Evt
I did the work.

ST aa:wu ceTT-e weg-ilayi.
I Umk tree-to Loc climb-pa 1s P
Act Sit Evt
I climbed the tree.

I aa:wu kel-layi.
I Umk play-pa 1s P
Act Evt
I played.

For persons other than first person singular in T, ST, and I, the agreement is the same as illustrated in the DiTransitive example above.

b) Class 2 verbs.

T aa:wu mateli jaan-i. — I know the tale.
I Umk story Umk know-1s P
Act Und Evt

tuuwi mateli jaan-si.	You know the tale.
jo mateli jaan-e	He knows the tale.
aam mateli jaan-um	We know the tale.

tuumu mateli jaan-su. You know the tale.

jeewu mateli jaan-ti They know the tale.

C ---	SA ---	A Und	DA Und
D ---	SS ---	S ( )	DS ( )
E ---	SR ---	R Und	DR Und
I ---	ST ---	T xxx*	DT xxx*

Figure 10. Normal Undergoer Agreement in the Kupia Verbs.

*These clauses have an inherent Actor. The Actor takes precedence over the Undergoer in agreeing with the verb.

DR tu-ka aa:wu Diis-ilayi. I appeared to you.
you-to Gol I Umk appear-pa 1s P
Sit Und Evt

ang-ka tuuwi Diis-iladi. You appeared to me.

ang-ka jo Diis-ilo. He appeared to me.

ang-ka ja Diis-ili. She appeared to me.

ang-ka tuumu Diis-iladu. You appeared to me.

and-ka jeewu Diis-ila. They appeared to me.

R aa:wu koopum ja-layi.
I Umk angry became-pa 1s P
Und Cpl Evt
I became angry.

DA aa:wu inn-e t-ilayi.
I Umk here-at Loc be-pa 1s P
Und Sit St
I was here.

For persons other than the first person singular in R and DA agreement is the same as illustrated in the DiReceptive example above.

A aa:wu suuTi as-i I am beautiful.
I Umk beautiful be-1s P
Und Cpl St

tuuwi suuTi as-isi.	You are beautiful.
jo suuTi as-e.	He is beautiful.
aam suuTi as-um.	We are beautiful.
tuumu suuTi as-usu.	You are beautiful.
jeewu suuTi as-ti.	They are beautiful.

1.2 Grammatical Organization.

Relationship Between Grammatical Categories and Roles. In order to describe the grammatical organization of the nuclear constituents of a clause, categories such as subject (S), object (O), indirect object (IO), referent (Ref), and predicate (P) will be used. The normal relationship between these categories and the roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site are as follows:

a) When all three nuclear roles are present:
   Actor is Subject
   Undergoer is Object
   Site is IO (animate) or Ref (inanimate)

b) When Actor is absent:
   Undergoer is Subject
   Site is IO or Ref

c) When Undergoer is absent:
   Actor is Subject
   Site is IO or Ref

d) When Site is absent:
   Actor is Subject
   Undergoer is Object

There are no clauses in Kupia where both roles of Actor and Undergoer are absent. Note the role of Subject in the following clauses.

DT	jo	abbos-ka	weyyi	wenDlu	d-ilo.
	he Umk	father his-to Gol	thousand	rupees Umk	give-3s P
	S	IO	O		P
	Act	Sit	Und		Evt

He gave his father a thousand rupees.

T	aam	cimbo	rand-ilam.
	we Umk	rice Umk	cook-pa 1pl P
	S	O	P
	Act	Und	Evt

We cooked rice.

ST jo ceTT-e weg-ilo.
he Umk tree-to Loc climb-pa 3s P
S Ref P
Act Sit Evt
He climbed the tree.

I booda eeD-lo.
child Umk cry-pa 3s P
S P
Act Evt
The child cried.

DR ang-ka Dumbo Diis-ili.
me-to Gol ghost Umk appear-pa 3s P
IO S P
Sit Und Evt
A ghost appeared to me.

R booda jerm-ilan.
child Umk born-pa 3s P
S P
Und Evt
A child was born.

DA tu-ka gayimi as-e.
you-to Gol wound Umk be-3s P
IO S P
Sit Und St
You have a wound.

A nilayya cengngil as-e.
Nilayya Umk good be-3s P
S P
Und Cpl St
Nilayya is good.

Normal Order of Roles in the Clause. Of the nuclear roles, Actor typically occurs first. If the Site and Undergoer are inanimate they occur in that order (see examples 1 and 2). This same order is maintained when the Site is animate and the Undergoer is inanimate (see example 3). If they are both animate this order is reversed to Undergoer, Site (see example 6). This order also occurs when Undergoer is animate and Site is inanimate (see examples 4 and 5). This shows a marked preference for animate to occur before inanimate in the clause. Figure 10 below summarizes this. Predicate as Event or State typically occurs last.

Animate state	Order
1. Both Und and Sit inanimate	Actor, Site, Undergoer
2. Sit is animate Und is inanimate	
3. Both Und and Sit animate	Actor, Undergoer, Site
4. Und is animate Sit is inanimate	

Figure 10. Normal Order of Roles in a Clause.

1) DT jo peeD-e kaawaDi gal-lo.
he Umk verandah-on Loc bundle Umk throw-pa 3s P
S Ref O P
Act Sit Und Evt
He threw a bundle onto the verandah.

2) DT jo naaDu ceTT-e banti peT-lo.
that boy Umk tree-to Ref ball Umk hit-pa 3s P
S Ref O P
Act Sit Und Evt
The boy hit the ball to the tree.

3) DT jo abbos-ka weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
he Umk father his-to IO thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P
S IO O P
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave his father one thousand rupees.

4) DT jo maansu-ka ceTT-e band-ilam.
He Umk person-to Gol tree-to Ref build-pa 1 pl P
S O Ref P
Act Und Sit Evt
He tied the man to the tree.

5) DT jo waggo-ka jeeci stalum-te rak-ilam.
he Umk tigers-to Gol their den-in Ref shepherd-pa 3s P
S O Ref P
Act Und Sit Evt
He watched the tigers in their den.

6) DT jo naaDi-ka jowayin-te tedray-ilo.
he Umk child-to O them-to IO send-pa 3s P
S O IO P
Act Und Sit Evt
He sent the girl to them.

2. Systemic Contrasts.

The purpose of this section is to determine which of the cells shown in Figure 3 are filled by inherently contrastive clause patterns in Kupia. The contrasts will be discussed under two headings: General Contrasts, which correspond to features separating rows and columns in Figure 3; and Specific Contrasts, which show contrasts between individual cells, or certain groups of cells.

2.1 General Contrasts.

There are four general contrasts in the transitivity system. They will be discussed in the following order: State vs. Event, Actor vs. no Actor, Undergoer vs. no Undergoer, and Site vs. no Site. In discussing these contrasts it will be helpful to refer to the following tree diagram of the transitivity system. Those clauses which are inherent in Kupia are underlined. Note that there are no inherent clauses in the Stative Set in Kupia.

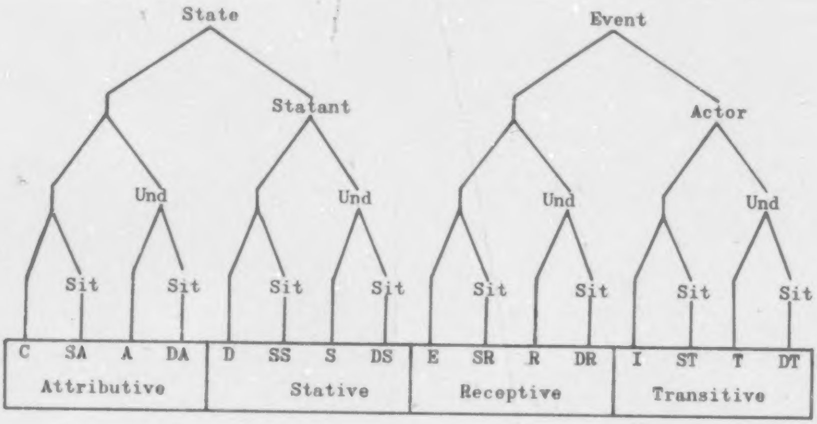
State
Statant
Und
Und
Sit
Sit
Sit
Sit
Event
Actor
Und
Und
Sit
Sit
Sit
Sit
C
SA
A
DA
D
SS
S
DS
E
SR
R
DR
I
ST
T
DT
Attributive
Stative
Receptive
Transitive

Figure 12. Tree Diagram of the Transitivity System.

2.11 State vs. Event.

Attributive Set Vs. Receptive and Transitive Sets.

A Set	R Set and T Set
1) verb as- fills the Sbase slot of the verb phrase	1) verb as- fills the Auxbase slot of the verb phrase
2) tangka is not used as a modal verb to form other aspect-tenses	2) tangka is used as a modal to form other aspect-tenses

3) -k1 and -k2	3) +k1 and +k2
4) -stativization	4) + stativization
5) +eventivization	5) -eventivization
6) -manner slot	6) +manner slot
7) -instrument slot	7) +instrument slot
8) ±Predicate deletion	8) -Predicate deletion

Attributive Set Vs. Receptive Set.

The eight contrasts listed above also apply here, and in addition the following:

A Set	R Set
1) k3 from *as-*	1) k3 from *jangka*
2) -benefactive slot	2) ±benefactive slot

Attributive Set Vs. Transitive Set.

The first eight general contrasts between State and Event also apply here. The following are specific contrasts between the Attributive and Transitive sets.

A Set	T Set
1) +Subject as Undergoer	1) -Subject as Undergoer
2) -Object as Undergoer	2) +Object as Undergoer
3) -Passive	3) ±Passive
4) +k3	4) -k3
5) -benefactive	5) ±benefactive

2.12 Actor Vs. No Actor

Transitive Set Vs. Receptive Set.

T Set	R Set
1) +Subject as Actor	1) -Subject as Actor
2) -Object as Undergoer	2) +Object as Undergoer
3) ±Passive	3) -Passive
4) +*dengka* as modal	4) -*dengka* as modal
5) +*an* actor-reflexive	5) -*an* actor-reflexive

2.13 Undergoer Vs. No Undergoer.

1) Undergoer is present in DT, T, DR, R, DA, A.	1) Undergoer is not present in ST, I

2.14 Site Vs. No Site.

1) Site is present in DT, ST, DR, DA.	1) Site is not present in T, I, R, A.

2.2 Specific Contrasts.

The contrasts listed below do not coincide with those separating whole rows or columns, but rather contrast individual cells with one another, or may contrast a certain group of cells with another group.

Number of Nuclear roles.

one role: I, R, A.
two roles: T, DR, DA, ST.
three roles: DT.

Animate Undergoer marked as Goal.
yes DT, T.
no DR, R, DA, A. (ST and I, no undergoer)

Object as Undergoer.
yes DT, T.
no DR, DA, R, A. (ST and I, no undergoer)

Undergoer has verb agreement.
yes A, DA, R, DR.
no T, DT.

Clauses can be passivized.
yes ±T.
no DT, ST, I, DR, R, DA, A.

Clauses can take Instrument/Means slot
yes T, ST, DT.
no I, R, DR, DA, A.

All the clause patterns can be contrasted by noting which of the derivational rules, discussed in Section D, are applicable to them. Figure 12 shows these contrasts.

Pattern / Rule	DT	T	ST	I	DR	R	DA	A
Cv3						±		+
Ud	+	+			+	+		
Sd	+		+		+		+	
Pv		±						
Cv 1,2	+	±	+	+	±	+		
Ev							+	+
Sv	+	+	+	+	+	+		

Figure 13. Applicability of Rules to Clause Patterns.

3. *Contrastive Types.*

Beginning with the DiTransitive clause, all contrastive patterns will be illustrated by examples preceded by a formula of the respective type. All the examples are inherent to the type. Where necessary, subtypes are posited. These may or may not have a different derivational potential.

3.1 The DiTransitive Clause Type.

DiTransitive Clause with Goal-Marked Site. These clauses reject both the modal *dengka* 'other-than-Subject directed' and *-an* 'actor reflexive'. With the verb *dengka* 'to give', Site is marked by *-ka*; with *wikuka* 'to sell', Site is marked by *-te*.

$$+\ \frac{\text{S}}{\text{Act}}\ \Big|\ \frac{\text{NP}}{\text{an}}\quad +\ \frac{\text{REF}}{\text{Sit}}\ \Big|\ \frac{\text{NP(Gol)}}{\text{an}}\quad +\ \frac{\text{O}}{\text{Und}}\ \Big|\ \frac{\text{NP}}{\text{an/inan}}\quad +\ \frac{\text{P}}{\text{Evt}}\ \Big|\ \frac{\text{VP}}{\text{dt}}$$

jo abbos-ka weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
he Umk father his-to Gol thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave his father a thousand rupees.

jaewu kamiswarao-ka duuwisi d-ila.
they Umk Kamiswarao-to Gol daughter Umk give-pa 3pl P
Act Sit Und Evt
They gave their daughter to Kamiswarao. (in marriage)

aa:wu tu-ka kabburu d-ilayi.
I Umk you-to Gol message Umk give-pa 1s P
Act Sit Und Evt
I gave a message to you.

jo naaDu-te postukumu wik-ilo.
he Umk boy-to Gol book Umk sell-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
He sold a book to the boy.

DiTransitive Clause A with Goal or Location-Marked Site. These clauses accept the modal *dengka* 'other-than-Subject directed', but reject *-an* 'actor reflexive.'

```
                                   (Gol)
  +  S   ! NP    +  REF ! NP.(Loc)     +  O   ! NP        +  P   ! VP
     ----+---       ----+---------        ----+------        ----+---
     Act ' an       Sit ' an/inan         Und ' inan*        Evt ' dt
```

*projectile, movable object

jo peeD-e kaawaDi gal-lo.
he Umk verandah-onto Loc bundle Umk throw-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
He threw a bundle onto the verandah.

naaDu ceTT-e banti peT-lo.
boy Umk tree-to Loc ball Umk hit-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
The boy hit the ball to the tree.

jo surayya-ka banti gal-lo.
he Umk Surayya-to Gol ball Umk throw-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
He threw the ball to Surayya.

jo surayya-te banti gal-lo.
he Umk Surayya-to Gol ball Umk throw-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
He threw the ball to Surayya.

jo surayya-ka banti peT-lo.
he Umk Surayya-to Gol ball Umk hit-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
He hit the ball to Surayya.

jo surayya-te banti peT-lo.
he Umk Surayya-to Gol ball Umk hit-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
He hit the ball to Surayya.

DiTransitive Clause B with Goal or Location-Marked Site. These clauses accept both *dengka* 'other-than-Subject directed' and *-an* 'actor reflexive.'

```
                          (Gol)
  +  S  ! NP    +  REF ! NP (Loc)    +  O   ! NP      +  P   ! VP
   ----+----      ----+---------       ----+-----       ----+---
    Act ' an       Sit ' an/inan        Und ' inan       Evt ' dt
```

jeewu	booda-ka	teel	gaa:s-ila.
they Umk	child-to Gol	oil Umk	rub-pa 3pl P
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

They rubbed oil on the child.

ja	roos-te	bangala kanda	gal-li.
she Umk	curry-in Loc	potatoes Umk	put-pa 3s P
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

She put potatoes in the curry.

aam	kuDD-i	cunnum	gaa:s-ilam.
we Umk	wall-on Loc	whitewash Umk	rub-pa 1pl P
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

We rubbed whitewash on the wall.

aam	orn-e	piiri	band-ilam.
we Umk	roof-on Loc	thatch Umk	tie-pa 1pl P
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

We tied thatch on the roof.

naaDi	booda-ka	jooDlu	gal-li.
girl Umk	child-on Gol	shoes Umk	put-pa 3s P
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

The girl put shoes on the child.

In this subtype, when the Undergoer is animate, the order of nuclear tagmemes is Actor, Undergoer, Site, as is illustrated in the following examples.

doro	baabu	tu-ka	santa-yi	tedray-ilo.
foreign	man Umk	you-to Gol	market-to Loc	send-pa 3s P
Act		Und	Sit	Evt

The foreign man sent you to the market.

aam	maansu-ka	ceTT-e	band-ilam.
we Umk	man-to Gol	tree-to Loc	tie-pa 1pl P
Act	Und	Sit	Evt

We tied the man to the tree.

jo	maansu-ka	jowayin-te	tedray-ilo.
he Umk	person-to Gol	them-to Gol	send-pa 3s P
Act	Und	Sit	Evt

He sent the man to them.

jo maansu jowaying-ka ja naaDi-te tedray-ilo.
that person Umk them-to Gol that girl-to Gol send-pa 3s P
Act Und Sit Evt
That man sent them to that girl.

jo waagu-ka jeeci stalum-te rakk-ilo.
he Umk tiger-Gol their den-in Loc herd-pa 3s P
Act Und Sit Evt
He watched the tiger in its den.

3.2 The Transitive Clause Type.

$$+\frac{S \;!\; NP}{Act \;'\; an} \qquad + \frac{O \;!\; NP(Gol/Umk)}{Und \;'\; an/inan} \qquad + \frac{P \;!\; VP}{Evt \;'\; t}$$

Transitive Clause A (Rejecting K1, K2, and Pv).

aam mateli jaan-um.
we Umk story Umk know-1pl P
Act Und Evt
We know the tale.

aam jo-ka jaan-um.
we Umk him-to Gol know-1pl P
Act Und Evt
We know him.

aam jo-ka neen-um.
we Umk him-to Gol not know-1pl P
Act Und Evt
We don't know him.

Transitive Clause B (Rejecting Pv but Accepting K1 and K2).

aam cimbo kay-ilam.
we Umk rice Umk eat-pa 1pl P
Act Und Evt
We ate rice.

aam suuru pi-lam.
we Umk liquor Umk drink-pa 1pl P
Act Und Evt
We drunk liquor.

aam cimbo rand-ilam.
we Umk rice Umk cook-pa 1pl P
Act Und Evt
We cooked rice.

aam kaam ker-lam.
we Umk work Umk work-pa 1pl P
Act Und Evt
We did work.

teer boodalu paalalu keeD-la.
female persons Umk cloth Umk wash-pa 3pl P
Act Und Evt
The women washed clothes.

aam geeru band-ilam.
we Umk house Umk build-pa 1pl P
Act Und Evt
We built a house.

aam jowaying-ka bukar-lam.
we Umk them-to Gol call-pa 1pl P
Act Und Evt
We called them.

jeewu ja naaDi-ka poos-ila.
they Umk that girl-to Gol rear-pa 3pl P
Act Umk Evt
They reared that girl.

jeewu jo waagu-ka maar-la.
they Umk that tiger-to Gol kill-pa 3pl P
Act Und Evt
They killed that tiger.

Transitive Clause C (Accepting Both K1 and K2 as well as Pv).

Deewid paani suuw-ilo.
David Umk water Umk spill-pa 3s P
Act Und Evt
David spilt the water.

Deewid uu:Ti Sind-ilo.
David Umk finger Umk cut-pa 3s P
Act Und Evt
David cut his finger.

ja naaDi paalum cir-ili.
that girl Umk cloth Umk tear-pa 3s P
Act Und Evt
The girl tore the cloth.

3.3 The SemiTransitive Clause.

$$+ \frac{\text{S}}{\text{Act}} \vdots \frac{\text{NP}}{\text{an}} \quad + \frac{\text{REF}}{\text{Sit}} \vdots \frac{\text{NP}\ \overset{(\text{Loc})}{(\text{Gol})}}{\text{an/inan}} \quad + \frac{\text{P}}{\text{Evt}} \vdots \frac{\text{VP}}{\text{st}}$$

jeewu eek guru-te ge-la.
they Umk one teacher-to Gol go-pa 3pl P
Act Sit Evt
They went to a teacher.

jo am-te a-yilo.
he Umk us-to Gol come-pa 3s P
Act Sit Evt
He came to us.

jo ceTT-e weg-ilo.
he Umk tree-in Loc climb-pa 3s P
Act Sit Evt
He climbed the tree.

jo gerr-i pess-ilo.
he Umk house-in Loc enter-pa 3s P
Act Sit Evt
He entered the house.

jo jalaput tinto a-yilo.
he Unk Jalaput from Src come-pa 3s P
Act Sit Evt
He came from Jalaput.

jo ceTT-e utir-lo.
he Umk tree-in from Src climb down-pa 3s P
Act Sit Evt
He climbed down from the tree.

jo otta tinto ja-lo.
he Umk there from Src become-pa 3s P
Act Sit Evt
He came away from there.

3.4 The Intransitive Clause.

$$+ \frac{\text{S}}{\text{Act}} \vdots \frac{\text{NP}}{} \quad + \frac{\text{P}}{\text{Evt}} \vdots \frac{\text{VP}}{\text{i}}$$

booda eeD-li.
child Umk cry-pa 3s P
Act Evt
The child cried.

jo kel-lo.
he Umk play-pa 3s P
Act Evt
He played.

jeewu nac-ila.
they Umk dance-pa 3pl P
Act Evt
They danced.

jo nij-ilo.
he Umk sleep-pa 3s P
Act Evt
He slept.

jo wess-ilo.
he Umk sit-pa 3s P
Act Evt
He sat down.

3.5 The DiReceptive Clause.

DiReceptive Clause A with Animate Site.

$$+\frac{\text{REF}}{\text{Sit}}\,\Big|\,\frac{\text{AR-ka}}{\text{an}}\qquad+\frac{\text{S}}{\text{Und}}\,\Big|\,\frac{\text{NP}}{\pm\text{concrete}}\qquad+\frac{\text{P}}{\text{Evt}}\,\Big|\,\frac{\text{VP}}{\text{dr}}$$

ang-ka Dumbo Diis-ili.
me-to Gol ghost Umk appear-pa 3s P
Sit Und Evt
A ghost appeared to me.

ang-ka guunu a-yili.
me-to Gol sleep Umk come-pa 3s P
Sit Und Evt
I got sleepy. (Sleep came to me)

DiReceptive Clause B with Animate Site. This subtype differs from A in that it has the same derivational pattern as the subtype with the inanimate Site.

booda-ka peeTi ber-li.
child-to Gol stomach Umk fill-pa 3s P
Sit Und Evt
The child's stomach became full.

DiReceptive Clause C (with Inanimate Site). Note that the tagmeme order is Undergoer, Site, Predicate.

+ S ¦ NP + REF ¦ NP (Loc) + P ¦ VP
Und ¦ +concrete Sit ¦ inan Evt ¦ dr

duudu tapella tinto geeD-li.
milk Umk container from Src leak-pa 3s P
Und Sit Evt
Milk leaked from the pot.

Deewid sooDi tinto seeD-lo.
David Umk edge from Src fell-pa 3s P
Und Sit Evt
David fell from the edge.

labar sooDi tinto seeD-lo.
rubber Umk edge from Src fell-pa 3s P
Und Sit Evt
The rubber fell from the edge.

3.6 The Receptive Clause.

+ S ¦ NP + P ¦ VP
Und ¦ Evt ¦ r

Receptive Clause A (Rejecting K3).

booda jerm-ilan.
child Umk born-pa 3s P
Und Evt
A child was born.

jo maansu mor-lan.
that person Umk die-pa 3s P
Und Evt
That person died.

jo maansu naas-ilo.
that person Umk lost-pa 3s P
Und Evt
That person got lost.

jonna sij-ila.
corn Umk boil-pa 3pl P
Und Evt
The corn boiled.

amba suk-ila.
mangoes Umk dry-pa 3pl P
Und Evt
The mangoes dried out.

kaam keeD-li.
work Umk finish-pa 3s P
Und Evt
The work finished.

bongro gunjir-lo.
spinning top Umk spin-pa 3s P
Und Evt
The top spun.

Receptive Clause B (with Complement in VP Accepting K3).

ja teer booda teyyar ja-li.
that female person Umk ready become-pa 3s P
Und Cpl Evt
That lady became ready.

aa:wu cuu ja-layi.
I Umk hungry become-pa 1s P
Und Cpl Evt
I became hungry.

aa:wu penDli ja-layi.
I Umk married become-pa 1s P
Und Cpl Evt
I became married.

jo oggar calli ja-lo.
he Umk very cold became-pa 3s P
Und Cpl Evt
He became very cold.

aa:wu mayla ja-layi.
I Umk monthly period become-pa 1s P
Und Cpl Evt
My monthly period has come.

3.7 The DiAttributive Clause.

We have broken this type into ten subtypes on the basis of: 1) the derivational potential, 2) the contrastive meaning of each construction as shown in the various names of each subtype, and 3) the order of the nuclear dramatis persona.

The Personal State DiAttributive.

+	REP	AR -ka	+	S	NP	+	P	VP
	Sit	an		Und	-an -concrete		St	da

jo-ka calli as-e.
he-to Gol cold Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
He is cold.

ang-ka jorje as-e.
me-to Gol fever Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
I have a fever.

ang-ka guunu as-e.
me-to Gol sleep Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
I am sleepy.

ang-ka cuu as-e.
me-to Gol hunger Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
I am hungry.

The Possessive DiAttributive.

+	REF	AR -ka	+	S	NP	+	P	VP
	Sit	an		Und	±an ±concrete		St	da

ang-ka kaam as-e.
me-to Gol work Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
I have work.

am-ka eek maansu as-e.
we-to Gol one person Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
We have a servant.

am-ka santaanum t-ili.
we-to Gol heir Umk be-pa 3s P
Sit Und St
We had an heir.

am-ka tooDu as-e.
we-to Gol help Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
We have help.

jo raano-ka satu jiina tersiwo t-ila.
that king-to Gol seven persons wives Umk be-pa 3pl P
Sit Und St
That king had seven wives.

jo-ka ja uddesim t-ili.
he-to Gol that intention Umk be-pa 3s P
Sit Und St
He had that intention.

am-ka Taanu t-ili.
we-to Gol space Umk be-pa 3s P
Sit Und St
We had room.

The Desiderative DiAttributive.

+ REF	AR -ka	+ S	NP	+ P	VP*
Sit	an	Und	±concrete ±an	St	da

*Fillers are: kaawale 'want'
akkar nay 'don't want'

jo-ka santaanum kaawale.
he-to Gol heir Umk want P
Sit Und St
He wants an heir.

jo-ka duuwisi akkar nay.
he-to Gol daughter Umk want not P
Sit Und St
He doesn't want a daughter.

The Relationship DiAttributive. In these clauses the predicate is formed with a complement which gives to the verb its particular relational meaning--wife, boss, son--to the Site.

ang-ka ja teer booda terni as-e.
me-to Gol that female person Umk wife my Umk be-3s P
Sit Und Cpl St
That woman is my wife.

jo-ka ja naaDi duuwisi ja-yede.
she-to Gol that girl Umk daughter become-3s fut P
Sit Und Cpl St
She is his daughter. (idiomatic use of jangka)

The Subjective DiAttributive. These clauses also require a complement in the predicate which gives to the verb a certain subjective relationship—"seems good" or "appears good," and the like—to the Site.

ang-ka ja cengngil Diis-ili.
me-to Gol that Umk good seems-pa 3s P
Sit Und Cpl St
That seems good to me. (Diis-ili elsewhere means appears, and then it

is DiReceptive)

```
ang-ka    iinja pooTa     cengngil t-ili.
me-to Gol this  photo Umk good     be-pa 3s P
Sit       Und             Cpl      St
That photo seems good to me.
```

The Existive DiAttributive.

```
     + REF ! AR -te    + S   !               + P  ! VP
       ----+--------     ----+----------       ---+---
       Sit ' ±an         Und ! ±concrete       St ' da
                             ! ±an
```

```
gerr-i       kurciwo    as-ti.
house-in Loc chairs Umk be-3pl P
Sit          Und        St
There are chairs in the house.
```

```
am-te     kurciwo    as-ti.
we-at Loc chairs Umk be-3pl P
Sit       Und        St
There are chairs at our house.
```

```
anci booDi-te    teeTalu   as-ti.
my   head-in Gol ideas Umk be-3pl P
Sit              Und       St
I have ideas in my head.
```

The Locative DiAttributive. In contrast to the Existive DiAttributive the Locative DiAttributive focuses on the *location* of the Undergoer rather than its existence. The reader's attention is also drawn to the contrastive order of the constituents of this subtype, the Undergoer preceding the Site.

```
     + S   !               + REF ! AR (-te)   + P  ! VP
       ----+----------       ----+---------     ---+---
       Und ! +concrete       Sit '              St ' da
           ! ±an
           ' +specific
```

```
kurciwo    am-te     as-ti
chairs Umk we-at Loc be-3pl P
Und        Sit       St
The chairs are at our place.
```

```
kurciwo    gerr-i       as-ti.
chairs Umk house-in Loc be-3pl P
Und        Sit          St
The chairs are in the house.
```

raamuDu gerr-i t-ilo.
Ramudu Umk house-in Loc be-pa 3s P
Und Sit St
Ramudu was in the house.

aam guru tenu t-ilam.
we Umk teacher with Loc be-pa 1pl P
Und Sit St
We were with the teacher.

The Physical State DiAttributive.

```
+ S   ¦ NP    + REF ¦ AR (-te)      + P  ¦ VP
  ----+---      ----+---------        ---+---
  Und ¦         Sit ¦                 St ¦ da
```

ja angng-i as-e.
she Umk flesh-in Loc be-3s P
Und Sit St
She is pregnant.

The Descriptive (Climate) DiAttributive.

```
+ REF ¦ AR (-te)     + S   ¦               + P  ¦ VP
  ----+---------       ----+-----------      ---+---
  Sit ¦                Und ¦ -an             St ¦ da
                           ¦ +climactic
```

viid-i opaaDi as-e.
grounds-in Loc sun Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
The sun is shining on the grounds.

peeD-e calli as-e.
porch-on Loc cold Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
Its cold on the porch.

gerr-i saluwa as-e.
house-in Loc shade Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
It's shady in the house.

palan-te paani as-e.
area-in Loc water Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
It's raining in the district.

The Attaching State DiAttributive.

$$+\frac{\text{REF} \mid \text{AR -ka}}{\text{Sit} \mid +\text{an}} \quad +\frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Und} \mid} \quad +\frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{St} \mid \text{da}}$$

jo-ka gayimi as-e.
he-to Gol wound Umk be-3s P
Sit Und St
He has a wound.

3.8 The Attributive Clause.

The Existive Attributive Clause.

$$+\frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Und} \mid \pm\text{an}} \quad +\frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{St} \mid \text{a}}$$

eek bampanwento t-ilo.
one Brahmin Umk be-pa 3s P
Und St
(Once upon a time) there was a (certain) Brahmin. (story setting)

...kasturi ToonTa as-e; kumari ToonTa as-e...
Kasturi fruit Umk be-3s P Kumari fruit Umk be-3s P
Und St Und St
...there is Kasturi fruit; there is Kumari fruit...

Contest: from a text about what kind of mangoes there are. This is part of a long list.

tuci naawu tawusu.
your name Umk remain-2pl impv

May your name remain (for ever and ever).

The Obligatory/Permissive Attributive.

$$+\frac{\text{S} \mid \text{Cl (-uka)}}{\text{Und} \mid} \quad +\frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP*}}{\text{St} \mid \text{a}}$$

*verbs are as 'to be', ja 'to become', and nenj 'not to be'.

aamu otta gec-uka t-ili.
we there go-inf be-pa 3s P
Und St
We had to go there.

aa:wu otta gec-uka ja-yede.
I there go-inf become-3s fut P
Und St
It is permissible that I go there./ I will have to go there.

jeewu otta gec-uka nenj-ili.
they there go-inf not be-pa 3s P
Und St
It was not permissible/was not possible for them to go there.

The Definitive Attributive.

These clauses require a complement in the predicate which gives to the copula its full descriptive meaning. This meaning is then ascribed to the Undergoer. The complement may take the form of NP or AdjP, and must agree with the Undergoer. Semantically the complement of these clauses is an inherent characteristic of the Undergoer.

niilayya jowaying-te wello as-e.
Nilayya Umk them-among big be-3s P
Und Cpl St
Nilayya is the older among them.

jeewu amba tiyanaca as-ti.
those mangoes Umk sweet ones be-3pl P
Und Cpl St
Those mangoes are sweet ones.

baagya kaasenoci duuwisi ja-yede.
Bagya Umk Kasena's daughter become-3s fut P
Und Cpl St
Bagya is Kasen's daughter. (idiom)

jo maansu raano as-e.
that person Umk king be-3s P
Und Cpl St
That man is a king.

jo booda ediloso as-e.
that child Umk small one be-3s P
Und Cpl St
That child is a small one.

jo erananlo as-e.
he Umk red one be-3s P
Und Cpl St
He is a red (white) man.

surayya cengngilo as-e.
Surayya Umk good be-3s P
Und Cpl St
Surayya is good (character).

The Attaching State Attributive.

These clauses closely resemble the Definitive Attributive clauses except that agreement between the complement of the predicate and the Undergoer is not obligatory, and that these clauses are negated by nenj 'not to be', whereas the Definitive clauses are negated by nay 'not'. The complement of this subtype tends to be an acquired characteristic.

raamuDu preema as-e.
Ramudu Umk love be-3s P
Und Cpl St
Ram is beloved.

surayya cengngil as-e.
Surayya Umk good be-3s P
Und Cpl St
Surayya is well. (in health)

aam alara as-um.
we Umk trouble be-3s P
Und Cpl St
We have troubles. (we are in a mess)

The Prohibitive Attributive.

These clauses also require a complement which may or may not require a copula. The only form of the copula noted thus far is the negative nay 'is not', which occurs with the complement wiil.

$$+\begin{array}{c|c} S & Cl\ (-uka) \\ \hline Und & \end{array} \quad + \begin{array}{c|c} P & VP \\ \hline St & a \end{array}$$

teer boodal otta gec-uka gaaru
female persons there go-inf taboo P
Und Cpl St
It is forbidden for women to go there.

teer boodal otta gec-uka wiil nay.
female persons there go-inf absolutely not P
Und Cpl St
It is absolutely forbidden for women to go there.

C. Inflected Patterns.

Verb Phrase Structure.

The verb phrase is made up of a number of elements. There are:

Stem Base	Sbase
Modal Stem Base	Mbase
Auxiliary Base	Auxbase

Sequentive Base	Seqbase
Final stem suffixes	fss
Non-final stem suffixes	nfss
Dependent stem suffixes	dss

Formulas for these are as follows:

Sbase = ± Vbl Obj + stem ± k1 ± k2 ± ar

Mbase = ± Vbl Obj + stem ± k1 ± k2 ± ar

Auxbase = stem of as-e (as-) 'to be'

Seqbase = stem of keruka (ker-) 'to do'

fss = imperfect aspect (-t) + M_3*
perfect aspect (-l) + M_2
$M_1/M_4/M_5$
inf (-uka)

nfss = perfect participle (-a)
imperfect participle (-te)
inf (-uka)

dss = ∅
perfect participle (-a)
imperfect participle (-te)
imperfect aspect (-it/t)
perfect aspect (-il/-l)
(See Section E, Dependent Patterns.)

* These 'M' symbols refer to Figures 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 in Sections C.2 and 3.

The maximum expansion of the independent Kupia verb phrase is represented in Figure 14.

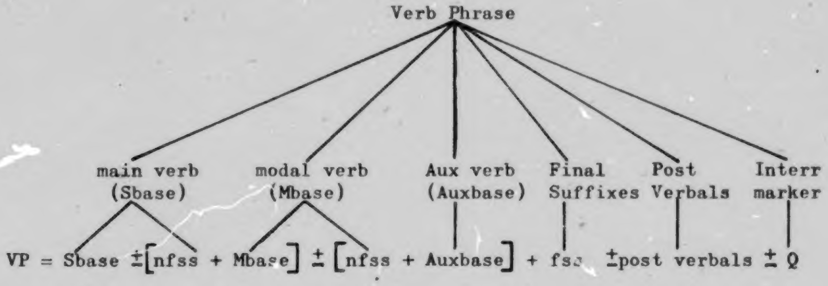
Verb Phrase
main verb (Sbase)
modal verb (Mbase)
Aux verb (Auxbase)
Final Suffixes
Post Verbals
Interr marker
VP = Sbase ±[nfss + Mbase] ± [nfss + Auxbase] + fss ±post verbals ± Q

Figure 14. Kupia Verbal Phrase Formula.

The following examples illustrate various expansions of the verb phrase.

VP = Sbase + Mbase + fss
(jo geeru) band-a gel-l-o.
(he house) build-pp complete-pa-3s
(He) built (the house) completely.

VP = Sbase + Mbase + Auxbase + fss + post verbal + Q
(jo geeru) band-a gel-a as-e nijumuwi ge?
(he house) build-pp complete-pp be-3s truly Q
(He) has built (a house), isn't that right?

VP = Sbase + Mbase + Auxbase
(amci gerrici kuDu) gall-uka modol ker-aw-aD-an-a as-um.
(our house's walls) make-inf start do-kl-k2-ar-pp be-1pl
(We) have started to make (the walls of our house).

The minimum verb phrase expansion for a positive independent clause is:

VP = Sbase + fss (Where Sbase is realized as stem)
band-ilo.
build-pa 3s
He built (it).

Assuming a compound stem and also two causatives and an actor-reflexive in the verb phrase, we can have:

VP = Sbase + fss (Where Sbase is realized as Vbl Obj + stem + kl + k2 + ar)
ja teer booda teyyar ker-aw-aD-an-l-i.
that female person ready do-kl-k2-ar-pa-3s
That woman had someone dress her.

The verbal phrase structure for negative active independent clauses can take two forms. The more frequently occurring is minimally:

VP = Sbase + fss + neg
band-i nay.
build-1s not
(I) am not building (it).

The verb phrase structure for some *positive* and *negative* active *dependent* clauses is shown in the following formula:

VP = ± d neg + Sbase ± [nfss + Mbase] ± [nfss + Seq/Auxbase] + dss

Minimally this is:

VP = Sbase + dss
(kaam) ker-a (ayilo).
(work) do-pp (came he)
Having done (the work), (he came).

1. Mood

Mood identifies the function of the speech act in a given clause. That is, it is concerned with whether the speech act imparts information, requests information, gives an order, or pronounces a blessing or a curse. The various moods expressed in Kupia are:

1.1 Declarative.

Throughout this paper, examples are in this mood unless otherwise stated. Declarative is the basic mood for imparting information. No further exemplification is considered necessary for this mood.

1.2 Interrogative.

This mood is used to request information. The following subdivisions, each having a slightly different meaning are considered:

a. Simple Questions
b. Alternative Questions
c. Content Questions
d. Tag Questions

Simple Questions. This interrogative construction is formed by: 1) the use of the interrogative marker ge occurring verb phrase final, and an interrogative intonation pattern; or 2) by the interrogative intonation pattern alone. A feature of this construction is that the speaker anticipates the reply 'Yes' or 'No'.

diiladi ge?
give-pa 2s Q
Did you give it?

Intonation is low on the ladi and high on the ge.

jeewu jo naaDuka poos-ila ge?
they that boy to rear-pa 3pl Q
Did they rear that boy?

Intonation is low on possila and high on ge.

d-iladi.
give-pa 2s
Did you give (it)?

Intonation is low on la, and high on di.

jeewu jo naaDuka poos-ila?
they that boy to rear-pa 3pl
Did they rear that boy?

Intonation is low on *poo*, rising on *si*, and high on *la*.

We intuitively feel that when the *ge* is present, the question is more neutral in that the speaker has no preconception as to whether the answer will be 'Yes' or 'No'. Whereas where *ge* is omitted it seems the speaker expects the answer 'No'.

Rhetorical Questions. Rhetorical Questions in Kupia take the same form as a Simple Question. They are only distinguished by their non-verbal context.

Alternative Questions. With the Alternative Question the answer is not 'Yes' or 'No' as with the Simple Question, but must either be a choice of one of the Alternatives given or a denial of both. See the discussion of Alternative Sentence in the paper *Kupia Sentence Patterns*, occurring in volume 1 of this report.

Content Questions. Here the answer expected will contain an amount of something, the means of doing something, of the time something happened—in brief, a reply to the specific question word. The following content question words have been found in Kupia:

kacci	whose?	kee:yakka	when?
kaka	to whom?	kicco	what?
keddi	how much size/volume?	kiccoka	why?
keddoDi	when?	ko	who?
keene	where?		
ketti	how much/quantity?		

Also the following content question phrases have been found:

kiccoci risso	what reason?	kacci atti	by whose hand?
kiccoci uppiri	about what?	kicco ceeta	by what means?

kee:yakka ayiladi?
when come did you
When did you come?

ko ayila?
who came
Who came?

With the use of *ko* 'who', the verb has plural number agreement. Intonation drops to low on the last word-stress, fading away on the last syllable.

Tag Question. This question suggests the answer 'Yes'. See the description of Positive-Echo Sentence in the paper Kupia Sentence Patterns occurring in volume 1 of this report.

ja diisi diladi naay-i?
that day on gave I did not-emp

I gave it that day, didn't I?

There is a drop to low intonation on the last word-stress of the first predicate, fading off to a pause. This is followed by mid intonation on naa rising to high on yi. When the question word ge is used after naayi, it seems to add some small degree of doubt or hesitation.

ja diisi dilayi naay-i ge?
that day in gave I did not-emp Q
I did give it that day, didn't I?

1.3 Mandatory.

There are three variations of the mandatory mood in Kupia—Imperative, Necessitative, and Obligatory.

Imperative. The person-number morphemes illustrated in Figure 15 are used to form the imperative mood in Kupia. They fill the final stem suffix slot in the verb phrase. Note, Hortative and Optative are terms which are traditionally used for mood. They correspond to what we have called first and third person imperative respectively.

Person / Number	1st	2nd	3rd
Singular		-u	-usu
Plural	-uma	-a	-utu

Figure 15. M_1 Person-number Suffixes.

geeru band-u.
house build-impv 2s
Build a house!

geeru band-usu.
house build-impv 3s
Let him build a house!

geeru band-uma.
house build-impv 1pl
Let's build a house.

geeru band-a
house build-impv 2pl
You build a house!

geeru band-utu.
house build-impv 3pl
Let them build a house!

Note: Prohibitive or Negative Imperative is treated under Modality.

Necessitative. This usage is formed by suffixing -uka 'inf' to the predicate final verb. There is no agreement between subject and predicate. A common usage of this form is in characterizing what a person is habitually like.

aa:wu ta-ngka.
I remain-inf
I must/have to remain.

ja booda eeD-uka.
that child cry-inf
That child has to cry/cries incessantly.

Obligatory (Absolute Mandatory). The Obligatory mood is formed by the use of an Attributive clause having the following formula:

+ S ¦ Cl /-uka/   + P ¦ stem + fss ¦ as-e
be-3s

The exponents of this Attributive clause are: embedded clause as subject, plus as-e 'be-3s' as predicate. The embedded clause has a 3rd person singular agreement with the verb as-e and is in the infinitive form.

aam jowayingka tin tin wenDlu de-ngka as-e.
we those to three three rupees give-inf be-3s
S P
We are obligated to give those people three rupees each.

jo kaalika gaa:wi gec-uka as-e.
he tomorrow village to go-inf be-3s
S P
He has to go to the village tomorrow.

Note: Prohibitive (negative imperative) is being treated under modality.

2. Gender.

In the Kupia verb phrase agreement with the Subject in gender is signalled only in third person singular perfect aspect, and in third person singular in the conjectural mode. In both cases the endings are:

-o	masculine
-i	feminine
-an	neuter

nig-il-o
run-pa-3sm
He ran.

nig-il-i.
run-pa-3sf
She ran.

3. Person and Number.

In Kupia person and number are realized as a fused morpheme. Person is contrastive for first, second, and third persons; and number is contrastive for singular and plural. The person-number morphemes are exponents of the final-stem-suffix slot in the verb phrase. They are shown in the following figures:

Person / Number	1st	2nd	3rd		
			m	f	n
Singular	-ayi	-adi	-o	-i	-an
Plural	-amu	-adu	-a		

Figure 16. M$_2$ Person-number Suffixes.

These person-number morphemes are used with class 1 and class 2 verbs in the perfect aspect, and in the imperfect aspect in the conjectural mode.

Person / Number	1st	2nd	3rd
Singular	-asi	-asi	-ayi
Plural	-asum	-asu	-ati

Figure 17. M$_3$ Person-number Suffixes.

Figure 17 shows the person-number morphemes used with class 1 verbs in the imperfect aspect and class 1 and class 2 verbs in the progressive tenses.

Person / Number	1st	2nd	3rd
Singular	-i	-(i)si	-e
Plural	-um	-(u)su	-(i)ti

Figure 18. M$_4$ Person-number Suffixes.

Figure 18 shows the person-number morphemes used with the negative of class 1 verbs, the imperfect aspect of class 2 verbs, and the perfect present of class 1 and 2 verbs.

Person Number	1st	2nd	3rd
Singular	-inde	-(i)ste/-te	-ede
Plural	-umde		-ula

Figure 19. M_5 Person-number Suffixes.

Figure 19 shows the person-number morphemes used with the future, imperfect future, and perfect future tenses. Only class 1 verbs form the future.

Figures 20 and 21 show the distribution of person-number suffix sets (M_2 to M_5) in the three simple aspect-tenses. The choice of person-number morpheme set is dependent on the verb class, and on mode (conjectural or non-conjectural).

Verb Class Aspect-Tense	1	2
Imperfect present	M3	M4
Perfect	M2	
Future	M5	

Figure 20. Non-Conjectural Mode Plus M2-M5 Suffix Sets.

Verb Class Aspect-Tense	1	2
Imperfect aspect	M2	

Figure 21. Conjectural Mode plus M2 Suffix Set.

4. Aspect-Tense.

In Kupia tenses are made in a number of ways: a) by use of aspect morphemes in conjunction with person-number morphemes; b) by use of person—number morphemes alone; c) by use of participial suffixes in combination with the auxiliary verb as-e 'to be'; and d) by use of participial suffixes in combination with the modal verb *tangka* 'to remain'.

4.1 Aspect morphemes and person-number morphemes.

In Kupia there are two tenses that form from these variables:

Perfect Aspect. This is formed by the perfect aspect morpheme -*l* and the person-number morphemes shown in M_2 (Figure 16). Classes 1 and 2 verbs form the aspect-tense in this way.

Class 1 verb, *banduka* 'to build'	Class 2 verb, *jaanuka* 'to know'
(geeru) band-il-ayi. (house) build-pa-2s I built a house.	(ja) jaan-l-ayi. (that) know-pa-1s I knew that.
(geeru) band-il-adi. (house) build-pa-2s You build a house.	(ja) jaan-l-adi. (that) know-pa-2s You knew that.
(geeru) band-il-o. (house) build-pa-3s He built a house.	(ja) jaan-l-o. (that) know-pa-3s He knew that.
(geeru) band-il-i (house) build-pa-3s She built a house.	(ja) jaan-l-i. (that) know-pa-3s She knew that.
(geeru) band-il-an. (house) build-pa-3s He/she built a house.	(ja) jaan-l-an. (that) know-pa-3s He/she knew that.
(geeru) band-il-amu. (house) build-pa-1pl We built a house.	(ja) jaan-l-amu. (that) know-pa-1pl We knew that.
(geeru) band-il-a. (house) build-pa-3pl They built a house.	(ja) jaan-l-a. (that) know-pa-3pl They knew that.

Imperfect Present Aspect-Tense A. For class 1 verbs this tense is formed by the imperfect aspect morpheme -*t* and the person-number morphemes shown in matrix M_3 (Figure 17).

(geeru) band-it-asi. (house) build-imp-1s I build a house.	(geeru) band-it-asum. (house) build-imp-1pl We build a house.
(geeru) band-it-asi. (house) build-imp-2s You build a house.	(geeru) band-it-asu. (house) build-imp-2pl You build a house.

(geeru) band-it-ayi.
(house) build-imp-3s
He builds a house.

(geeru) band-it-ati.
(house) build-imp-3pl
They build a house.

4.2 Person-number morphemes alone.

Imperfect Aspect-Tense. For class two verbs the imperfect aspect-tense is formed by suffixing the person-number morphemes from matrix M_4 (Figure 18) to the verb stem.

(tumca koDDo) jaan-i.
(your language) understand-1s
I understand your language.

(tumca koDDo) jaan-um.
(your language) understand-1pl
We understand your language.

(tumca koDDo) jaan-si.
(your language) understand-2s
You understand your language.

(tumca koDDo) jaan-su.
(your language) understand-2pl
You understand your language.

(tumca koDDo) jaan-e.
(your language) understand-3s
He understands your language.

(tumca koDDo) jaan-ti.
(your language) understand-3pl
They understand your language.

Future Intentional Aspect. By suffixing the person-number morphemes shown in matrix M_5 (Figure 19) to the class 1 verbs, the future aspect is formed. Class 2 verbs do not form the future aspect.

(geeru) band-inde.
(house) build-1s fut
I will build a house.

(geeru) band-umde.
(house) build-1pl fut.
We will build a house.

(geeru) band-iste.
(house) build-2s fut
You will build a house.

(geeru) band-iste.
(house) build-2pl fut
You will build a house.

(geeru) band-ede.
(house) build-3s fut
He will build a house.

(geeru) band-ula.
(house) build-3pl fut
They will build a house.

4.3 Participles and Auxiliary Verb as-e 'to be'.

The verb as-e 'to be' has a simple past and a simple present tense. (As does hoona in Hindi.) Combinations of the perfect and imperfect participles and these tenses of the auxiliary verb yield the following aspect-tenses. Class 1 and class 2 verbs both form these tenses in the same way.

Perfect Present Aspect-Tense. This aspect-tense is formed by suffixing the perfect participle suffix -a to the main verb, and suffixing the person-number suffixes from matrix M_4 (Figure 18) to the present stem of as-e 'to be'.

(geeru) band-a as-i.
(house) build-pp be pr-1s
I have built a house.

(geeru) band-a as-um.
(house) build-pp be pr-1pl
We have built a house.

(geeru) band-a as-isi.
(house) build-pp be pr-2s
You have built a house.

(geeru) band-a as-usu.
(house) build-pp be pr-2pl
You have built a house.

(geeru) band-a as-e.
(house) build-pp be pr-3s
He has built a house.

(geeru) band-a as-ti.
(house) build-pp be pr-3pl
They have built a house.

Imperfect Present Aspect-Tense B. This aspect-tense is formed by suffixing the imperfect participle suffix -te to the stem of the main verb, and the person-number morphemes from M_4 (Figure 18) to the present stem of as-e 'to be'.

(geeru) band-ite as-i.
(house) build-imp p be pr-1s
I build a house.

(geeru) band-ite as-um.
(house) build-imp p be pr-1pl
We build a house.

(geeru) band-ite as-isi.
(house) build-imp p be pr-2s
You build a house.

(geeru) band-ite as-usu.
(house) build-imp p be pr-2pl
You build a house.

(geeru) band-ite as-e.
(house) build-imp p be pr-3s
He builds a house.

(geeru) band-ite as-ti.
(house) build-imp p be pr-3pl
They build a house.

Perfect Past Aspect-Tense. This is formed by suffixing the perfect participle suffix -a to the stem of the main verb, and the person-number suffixes of matrix M_2 (Figure 16) to the past stem (ti-) of as-e 'to be'.

(geeru) band-a ti-l-ayi
(house) build-pp be-pa-1s
I had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-l-amu.
(house) build-pp be-pa-1pl
We had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-l-adi.
(house) build-pp be-pa-2s
You had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-l-adu.
(house) build-pp be-pa-2pl
You had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-l-o.
(house) build-pp be-pa-3s
He had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-l-a
(house) build-pp be-pa-3pl
They had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-l-i
(house) build-pp be-pa-3s
She had built a house.

(geeru) band-a ti-l-an.
(house) build-pp be-pa-3s
He/she had built a house.

Imperfect Past Aspect-Tense. This is formed by use of the imperfect participle suffix -te on the stem of the main verb and the person-number suffixes from matrix M2 (Figure 16) on the past stem of *as-e* 'to be'.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-ayi.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-1s
I used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-amu.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-1pl
We used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-adi.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-2s
You used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-adu.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-2pl
You used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-o.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-3s
He used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-a.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-3pl
They used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-i.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-3s
She used to build a house.

(geeru) band-ite ti-l-an.
(house) build-imp p be-pa-3s
He/she used to build a house.

4.4 Participles and the Modal Verb *tangka* 'to remain'.

Imperfect Future Aspect-Tense. This aspect-tense combines the imperfect participle form of the main verb and the verb *tangka* 'to remain' plus the person-number suffixes from matrix M5 (Figure 19).

(geeru) band-ite ta-yinde.
(house) build-imp p remain-1st fut
I will be building a house.

(geeru) band-ite ta-umde.
(house) build-imp p remain-1pl fut
We will be building a house.

(geeru) band-ite ta-ste.
(house) build-imp p remain-2s fut
You will be building a house.

(geeru) band-ite ta-ste.
(house) build-imp p remain-2pl fut
You will be building a house.

(geeru) band-ite ta-yede.
(house) build-imp p remain-3s fut
He will be building a house.

(geeru) band-ite ta-wula.
(house) build-imp p remain-3pl fut
They will be building a house.

Perfect Future Aspect-Tense. This aspect-tense combines the perfect participle form of the main verb, and the verb *tangka* 'to remain' plus the person-number suffixes from matrix M5 (Figure 19).

(geeru) band-a ta-yinde.
(house) build-pp remain-1s fut
I will have been building a house.

(geeru) band-a ta-umde.
(house) build-pp remain-1pl fut
We will have been building a house.

(geeru) band-a ta-ste.
(house) build-pp remain-2s fut
You will have been building a house.

(geeru) band-a ta-ste.
(house) build-pp remain-2pl fut
You will have been building a house.

(geeru) band-a ta-yede.	(geeru) band-a ta-vula.
(house) build-pp remain-3s fut	(house) build-pp remain-3pl fut
He will have been building a house.	They will have been building a house.

Imperfect Progressive Present Aspect-Tense. This aspect-tense combines the imperfect participle form of the main verb and the verb *tangka* 'to remain' plus the person-number suffixes from matrix M3 (Figure 17).

(geeru) band-ite ta-t-asi.	(geeru) band-ite ta-t-asum.
(house) build-imp p remain-imp-1s	(house) build-imp p remain-imp-1pl
I am building a house.	We are building a house.
(geeru) band-ite ta-t-asi.	(geeru) band-ite ta-t-asu.
(house) build-imp p remain-imp-2s	(house) build-imp p remain-imp-2pl
You are building a house.	You are building a house.
(geeru) band-ite ta-t-ayi.	(geeru) band-ite ta-t-ati.
(house) build-imp p remain-imp-3s	(house) build-imp p remain-imp-3pl
He is building a house.	They are building a house.

Perfect Progressive Present Aspect-Tense. This combination employs the perfect participial form of the main verb, and the verb *tangka* plus the person-number suffixes from matrix M_3 (Figure 17).

(geeru) band-a ta-t-asi.	(geeru) band-a ta-t-asum.
(house) build-pp remain-imp-1s	(house) build-pp remain-imp-1pl
I was building a house.	We were building a house.
(geeru) band-a ta-t-asi.	(geeru) band-a ta-t-asu.
(house) build-pp remain-imp-2s	(house) build-pp remain-imp-2pl
You were building a house.	You were building a house.
(geeru) band-a ta-t-ayi.	(geeru) band-a ta-t-ati.
(house) build-pp remain-imp-3s	(house) build-pp remain-imp-3pl
He was building a house.	They were building a house.

5. *Voice.*

Passive Voice. Kupia distinguishes between active and passive voice. Passive voice can only occur with verbs of Transitive Clause C. However, passive examples are rare in text material and do not occur frequently in conversation. We postulate the following hypothesis:

a) Cases where a human agent is inherently involved cannot be expressed by passive constructions.

b) Passive constructions can be used where there is not necessarily a human agent involved, or where the speaker does not want to admit that a human agent was involved.

The passive is formed by adding the suffix -*i* to the stem of the base, together with the appropriate form of the *jangka* 'to become', as illustrated below. Expansion with the modal verb *geluka* 'to complete' is frequent.

(paani) suu:w-i ja-t-ayi.
(water) spill-passive become-imp-3s
Water is becoming spilt.

(paani) suu:w-i ja-l-i.
(water) spill-passive became-pa-3s
Water became spilt.

(daanu) suu:w-i ja-a gel-l-i.
(rice grain) spill-passive become-pp complete-pa-3s
Rice grain was completely scattered.

Other verbs that have been found to have passive forms are:

guDDi jaa gelii	'became drowned'
regDi jaa gelii	'became squashed'
sindi jaa gelii	'became cut'
ciri jaa gelii	'became torn'

Reflexive Voice. If the actor of a verb is doing something for his own benefit the actor-reflexive morpheme -*an* occurs in the actor reflexive slot of the Sbase or Mbase of the verb phrase.

(geeru) band-*an*-l-o.
(house) build-ar-pa-3s
He built a house *for himself*.

(âmci gerrici kuDu) gall-uka modol ker-aw-aD-*an*-umde.
(our house's walls) do-inf start do-k1-k2-*ar*-1pl
We will start to make the walls of our house.

6. *Causative and Double Causative*.

If the Actor is the causer of the action of the verb, this will be shown by the morpheme -*aw*/-*ay*. This morpheme occurs within the Sbase and less commonly within the Mbase of the verb phrase. It occurs following the stem and preceding the actor-reflexive morpheme.

(geeru) band-*ay*-l-o.
(house) build-*k1*-pa-3s
He caused a house to be built.

In double causative constructions the causative morpheme -*aD* will follow the first causative morpheme -*aw*.

(geeru) band-aw-aD-l-o
(house) build-k1-k2-pa-3s
He caused someone to build a house.

7. Aspect.

Aspect markers function as event modifiers. They indicate distribution of an event or state of affairs in time. Mention has been made of some aspects in the previous section. Other aspects expressed in the verb phrase in Kupia are: Inceptive, Completive, Sequentive, and Emphatic.

7.1 Inceptive Aspect.

Inceptive Aspect A. The inceptive aspect is formed by use of the modal verb deruka 'to begin'. The modal verb inflects for person-number, tense, and mood. Causative and actor-reflexive morphemes are suffixed to the stem of the base verb, and not to the modal verb. The base stem occurs with the infinitive suffix.

(booda) eeD-uka der-l-i.
(child) cry-inf begin-pa-3s
The child began to cry.

(aa:wu tumca koDDo) jaan-uka der-l-ayi.
(I your language) know-inf begin-pa-1s
I began to know your language.

Inceptive Aspect B. The inceptive aspect can also be formed by use of the modal verb modol keruka 'to begin to do'. The base stem occurs with the infinitive form. The modal verb inflects for person-number, tense, and mood; and it can take the causative morpheme.

(aaji) cuwe ta-ngka modol ker-umde.
(today) fast remain-inf begin do-1pl fut
We will begin fasting today.

(amci gerrici kuuDu) gall-uka modol ker-u.
(our house's walls) throw-inf begin do-impv
Start building the walls of our house!

7.2 Completive Aspect.

Completive Aspect A. With transitive verbs and some causativized intransitive verbs this completive aspect is formed by use of the verb geluka 'to complete an action'. geluka inflects for person-number, tense, and mood. The base stem occurs with the perfect participle suffix -a.

(tumci booda postukumu) cir-a gel-l-i.
(your child book) tear-pp complete-pa-3s
Your child tore the book right up.

(aa:wu tumca koDDo) jaan-a gel-l-ayi.
(I your language) know-pp finish-pa-1s
I became familiar with your language.

(jo ayile tuumu gerri) pes-aw-a gel-t-adu.
(he come if you house in) enter-kl-pp finish-would have-2pl
If he had come, you would have had him go right into the house.

Completive Aspect B. With receptive and intransitive verbs, this completive aspect is formed by use of the modal verb *gecuka* 'to go'. The modal verb inflects for person-number, tense, and mood. The base stem occurs with the perfect participle suffix *-a*.

(mossa etki) keeD-a ge-l-a.
(fish all) finish-pp go-pa-3pl
The fish all ran out completely.

(jo) mac-a gec-ede.
(he) drink-pp go-3s fut
He will get drunk.

(ja) garbini ja-a ge-l-i.
(she) pregnant became-pp go-pa-3s
She became pregnant.

7.3 Sequentive Aspect.

The sequentive aspect is expressed by the perfect participle form of the modal verb *keruka* 'to do'. It's function is to signal that the action or state of the verb to which it acts as modal is completed before the action or state of the following clause takes place. The sequentive aspect occurs only in dependent clauses. The preceding verbs in the phrase are all of the perfect participle form.

(amba) aan-a ker-a (katasum).
(mangoes) bring-pp do-pp (eat we (them)).
Having brought mangoes, we eat them.

ka-a ker-a (tuumte jemunde).
eat-pp do-pp (yoy to come we will)
When we have eaten, we will come to your house.

7.4 Emphatic.

In Kupia two emphatic forms are common: *geda* 'indeed' and the emphasis particle *-yi*. They are post verbals.

(kaali joka oggar Dabbulu) di-l-o geda.
(yesterday him to much money) give-pa-3s indeed
There can be no doubt that he gave much money to him yesterday.

(jo postukumu) sadu kerede geda.
(he gook) read do will indeed
He will read the book for sure.

(jo) gec-e naayi.
(he) go-3s not emp
He definitely did not go.

In the last example, the particle -yi when added to the negative nay, yields the emphatic negative, naayi.

8. Modality.

Modality can be thought of as a reality index which states the relationship of the verb to the actual. Anything which transports the statement into the realm of the hypothetical, non-occurring, the potential, the unreal, the contrary-to-fact, is included under the heading modality. The various modals we have found either in or in conjunction with the verb phrase in Kupia are: Conjectural (Contrary-to-fact), Abilitive, Release of Responsibility (Hypothetical), Negative, Prohibitive, and Inabilitive.

8.1 Conjectural.

Normally the conjectural mode is conveyed by a multi-propositional sentence. The first proposition is realized as a dependent clause, and the second as a dependent clause in the contrafactual mode. In conversation, where the conditional (first) proposition is understood, it is frequently omitted. The conjectural mode is formed by suffixing the imperfect aspect morpheme -it/-t to the stem, followed by the person-number suffixes illustrated in matrix M2, (Figure 16).

(tuuwi ayile) dek-it-am.
(you come if) see-imp-1pl
If you had come, we would have seen (you).

(jo ayile) jaan-t-am.
(he come if) know-imp-1pl
If he had come, we would have known.

(tuuwi ayile) booda eeD-uka der-t-i.
(you come-if) child cry-inf begin-imp-3s
If you had come, the child would have started to cry.

8.2 Abilitive.

There are three ways of expressing Abilitive mode in Kupia:

As An Attributive Clause Structure. The Subject of the Attributive Clause is an embedded clause in the infinitive form. The Predicate is manifested by jangka 'to become' expressed in the 3rd person singular.

geeru band-uka ja-yede.
house build-inf become-3s fut
S P
It is possible to build a house.

gerri ka-ngka ja-yede.
house in eat-inf become-3s fut
S P
It is possible to eat in the house.

aa:wu tumca koDDo jaan-an-uka ja-yede.
I your language know-ar-inf become-3s fut
S P
It is possible for me to know your language for myself.

This usage can mean either 'It is physically possible to...' or 'It is permissible to...'

By teruka 'to be able.' This is a much less common way of expressing ability. The stem base occurs in the infinitive form; the modal verb teruka takes the appropriate person-number aspect-tense suffixes.

eenabayi keejiluci jaaDuci saamani ukul-ka ter-e.
sixty kilograms of weight of goods lift-inf be able-3s imp
He is capable of lifting sixty kilograms of goods.

By jaanuka 'to know.' The stem base occurs in the infinitive form; the modal verb jaanuka 'to know,' takes the appropriate person-number aspect-tense suffixes. This structure is more common than teruka above.

aa:wu sadu ker-uka jaan-i.
I read do-inf know-1s
I know how to read.

aa:wu gooDo weg-uka jaan-i.
I horse climb-inf know-1s
I know how to ride a horse.

8.3 Responsibility Disclaimer.

This mode is used when the speaker wants to make it clear either: a) that he has not observed for himself the facts he is speaking about; b) that he is making an hypothesis; c) that he has observed the events, but wants to remain out of focus himself; or e) that he is passing on information from hearsay and wishes to take no responsibility for the truth or falsity of the information.

By the Phrase kicco ge. The most common usage for this mode in daily speech is by use of the phrase *kicco ge* 'what?' normally following the predicate. However, it may follow any dramatis personae which is in focus as the item under question.

jo donni wenDlu deede kicco ge.
he two rupees give will what Q
He will give two rupees, maybe.

appe jeede kicco ge.
now come will he what Q
It's my guess that he'll come now.

jo donni wenDlu kicco ge deede.
he two rupees what Q give will
I guess it's two rupees (no other amount) he'll give.

weera munsuska geca ase kicco ge.
different husband to going be what Q
They say she's gone to a different husband.

By the Phrase melli kooDu. Another construction is the use of a statement together with the modifier *melli kooDu* 'spoken word.' This occurs when events are narrated in folk tales or in daily life, or in the recounting of legends about the culture.

jo naaDuka aasti dorku jali mel-l-i kooDu.
that boy to inheritance available became say-pa-3s word
The boy is said to have received the inheritance.

By the Word bette. The word *bette* 'so they say,' or 'the story has it,' can also be used to refer to an event either not observed at first hand, or posited to happen in the future.

jo paanc wenDlu dilo bette.
he five rupees gave they say
They say he gave five rupees.

kalika paanc wenDlu deede bette.
tomorrow five rupees give will they say
There's a rumour that he'll give five rupees tomorrow.

8.4 Negation.

Class 1 Verbs. The usual way of forming the negative for this class of verbs is to use person-number suffixes from matrix M4 (Figure 18) as fillers of the final stem suffix slot, followed by the negative morpheme, *nay*. Active and passive clauses are formed in this way.

geeru band-i nay.
house build-1s not
I am not building/won't build a house.

This negative construction is tenseless, and its meaning appears to be non-past.

A perfect aspect negative is formed by adding the infinitive suffix (-uka) to the verb stem, followed by nay 'not.'

kicco aa:wu aan-uka nay.
what I bring-inf not
I haven't brought anything.

Class 2 Verbs. Class 2 verbs cannot be negated. The negative meaning of these verbs is conveyed by the choice of a specific negative stem. For example, jaan-i 'I know' becomes neen-i 'I don't know.' It appears that negative stem verbs may originally have formed from the particle ne 'not' fusing with the positive stem.

tir-e be able-3s He can.	+ ne not	==>	netr-e be unable-3s He cannot.
jaan-e know-3s He knows.	+ ne not	==>	neen-e not know-3s He doesn't know.

Negation of Attributive and DiAttributive Clauses. Certain subsets of the Attributive and DiAttributive clauses employ the verb nenj 'not be.' That is, it is used in negative equations. It contrasts with tangka nay 'not to remain' and as nay 'not to be,' both of which usually occur in clauses expressing implicit location. nenj is a class 2 verb.

ja kurci as-e. that chair be-pr-3s That is a chair.	==>	ja kurci nenj-e. that chair not be-3s That is not a chair.
ja kurci as-e. that chair be-pr-3s That chair is (here).	==>	ja kurci nay. that chair not That chair is not (here).

8.5 Prohibitive.

There are at least four methods of signalling prohibition in Kupia.

Imperative Plus nay. Prohibition may be expressed by use of the imperative mood plus the negative particle nay 'not.'

go nay
go not
Don't go!

ge-tu nay.
go-impv 3pl not
Let them not go!

Infinitive Plus pooni. Prohibition may be expressed by suffixing (*-uka*) to the clause predicate, plus the morpheme *pooni* (*poona* in the plural form) 'desist/don't.' This can be used only for second person.

tuuwi otta gec-uka poon-i.
you there go-inf don't-2s
Don't you go there!

This form of prohibition is much more common than the second person prohibition above. Note that *pooni* and *poona* can occur alone, representing the action known in context.

Infinitive Plus gaaru/gaaru nay. This form is used to express a taboo or strong prohibition of a generic sort.

jo otta gec-uka gaaru ø
he there go-inf taboo is
S P
It is taboo for him to go there.

otta gec-uka gaaru nay.
there go-inf taboo not
It's not forbidden to go there.

Infinitive Plus wiil nay. Absolute prohibition is expressed in the form of a clause in the infinitive form plus the phrase *wiil nay* 'absolutely not' filling the post verbal slot.

jo otta gec-uka wiil nay.
he there go-inf absolutely not
It is absolutely forbidden for him to go there.

9. *Other-than-Subject-Oriented Form.*

This is formed by suffixing the perfect participle morpheme *-a* to the stem of the base verb, followed by the verb *dengka* 'other-than-subject oriented.' *dengka* fills the stem slot of the modal base in the verb phrase, and can inflect for person-number, tense, and mood.

naaDi ayyaska saapaka peTT-a d-il-i.
girl mother for reed mat to hit-pp other-than-S-oriented-pa-3s
The girl beat the mat for her mother.

an-ci risso joka tuuwi bukar-a des-su!
me-of reason him to you summon-pp other-than-Subject oriented 2pl impv
You summon him for me!

But note the following example where presumably the Actors will at least partially benefit from the action.

(aam cimbo) wanT-a   d-il-am.
(we rice) divide-pp other-than-Subject oriented-1pl
We divided up the rice.

D. Derived Patterns.

A clause which belongs inherently in one of the cells of the transitivity matrix may be moved out of that cell into various other cells in the system by a given set of rules. There are basically four types of rules in Kupia: a) rules that add an Actor; b) rules that delete an Undergoer, Site, or Actor; c) rules that embed; and d) rules that shift from one discourse category to another, i.e., from event to state or vice versa. We will describe and illustrate each of the rules and then consider each inherent clause type and its derivational pattern.

1. Derivational Rules.

Causativizing Rule. (Cv3). This rule adds an Actor to clauses in the Attributive cell, and substitutes the verb keruka 'to do' for the verb as 'to be.' The rule derives clauses in the Attributive cell into the Transitive cell.

A   booda   suuti as-e.
     child Umk pretty be-3s P
     Und   Cpl   St
     The child is pretty.

dT   ja   booda-ka   suuti ker-li.
     she Umk child-to Gol pretty do-pa 3s P
     Act   Und   Cpl   Evt
     She made the child pretty.

In addition, the Cv3 rule adds an Actor to Receptive A clauses and substitutes the verb keruka 'to do' for the verb jangka 'to become.' The rule derives clauses in this subtype of the Receptive cell into the Transitive cell.

R   ja   teer   booda   teyyar ja-li
     that female person Umk ready become-pa 3s P
     The woman got dressed. (became ready).

dT   ayyasi   ja   teer   booda-ka   teyyar ker-li.
     mother her Umk that female person-to Gol ready do-pa 3s P
     Act   Und   Cpl   Evt
     Her mother caused the girl to get dressed.

Undergoer Deletion. (Ud). This rule may apply to clauses containing an Undergoer. In the examples below the DiTransitive and Transitive clauses are derived into the SemiTransitive and Intransitive cells respectively.

DT jo abbos-ka weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
he Umk father his-to Gol thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave his father a thousand rupees.

dST jo abbos-ka d-ilo.
he Umk father-his-to Gol give-pa 3s P
Act Sit Evt
He gave to his father.

T jo cimbo ka-yilo.
he Umk rice Umk eat-pa 3s P
Act Und Evt
He ate rice.

dI jo ka-yilo.
he Umk eat-pa 3s P
Act Evt
He ate.

Site Deletion (Sd). This rule may apply to clauses having a Site. In the example below an inherent DiTransitive clause may be moved into the Transitive cell.

DT jo abbos-ka weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
he Umk father-his-to Gol thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P
He gave his father a thousand rupees.

dT jo weyyi wenDlu d-ilo.
he Umk thousand rupees Umk give-pa 3s P
He gave a thousand rupees.

Passive (Pv). This rule deletes an Actor. It applies to Transitive clauses of subset C. The passive rule derives inherent Transitive clauses into the Receptive cell. For details about the formation of the passive, see Section C.5.

T Deewid paani suuw-ilo.
David Umk water Umk spill-pa 3s P
Act Und Evt
David spilled the water.

dR paani suuw-i ja-a gel-li.
water Umk spill-passive become-pp complete-pa 3s P
Und Evt
The water spilt.

Causative (_Cv 1,2_). This rule adds an Actor to inherent clauses of Attributive and Receptive sets. It adds an Undergoer to clauses of the Transitive set. Two causative morphemes occur as stem suffixes in Kupia, -_aw_/-_ay_, and -_aD_. They are exponents of the non-final stem suffix slot in the verb phrase. Both of these causative morphemes can occur as suffixes to the same stem, in which case the order is always -_awaD_. Further study is necessary for a detailed description of the functions of these morphemes.

R	bongro	gunjir-li.
	spinning top Umk	spin-pa 3sP
	Und	Evt

The top spun.

dT	jo	bongro	gunjr-ay-lo.
	he Umk	top Umk	spin-ki-pa 3s P
	Act	Und	Evt

He spun the top.

Eventive (_Ev_). The eventivizing rule derives a clause out of the attributive set of clauses into the receptive set. The process involves the use of the verb _jangka_ 'to become.'

DA	ang-ka	angkiwo	mayila	as-e.
	me-to Gol	eyes	failing sight Umk	be-3s P
	Sit	Und		St

I have poor eyesight.

dDR	ang-ka	angkiwo	mayila	ja-li.
	me-to Gol	eyes	failing sight Umk	become-pa 3s P
	Sit	Und		Evt

My eyesight became poor.

A	nilayya	cengngilo	as-e.
	Nilayya Umk	good	be-3s P
	Und	Cpl	St

Nilayya is good.

dR	nilayya	cengngilo	ja-lo.
	Nilayya Umk	good	become-pa 3s P
	Und	Cpl	Evt

Nilayya became good.

Stative (_St_). The stativizing rule derives a clause out of the transitive and receptive sets into the stative and attributive sets respectively. The structural change involved here is a change from the eventive tense to the stative tense. That is, the verb phrase has an exponent of the Auxiliary base slot.

R booda jerm-ilan.
child Umk born-pa 3s P
Und Evt
A child was born.

dA booda jerm-a as-e.
child Umk born-pp be-3s P
Und St
A child has been born.

ST jeewu eek guru-te ge-la.
they Umk one teacher-to Gol go-pa 3pl P
Act Sit Evt
They went to a teacher.

dSS jeewu eek guru-te gec-a as-ti.
they Umk one teacher-to Gol go-pp be-3pl P
Act Sit St
They have gone to a teacher.

2. Derivational Patterns.

The derivational rules that have been introduced in the preceding section will now be applied to each cell of the transitivity system which is filled by an inherent clause pattern. Thereby the various derivational potentials of the inherent clauses (and their subtypes) will become apparent, and provide further ground for contrasting the basic clause types. A full tree diagram is given for each pattern. Below the diagrams are given examples of each node in the tree. References to types and subtypes refer to Section B.3 Contrastive Types.

The conventions used in the tree diagrams (Figures 22-35) are as follows:

//	inherent clause pattern cell
Cv3	Causativizing rule Cv3
Ud	Undergoer deletion rule
Sd	Site deletion rule.
Pv	Passivizing rule
Cv 1,2	Causativizing rule Cv1, 2
Ev	Eventivizing rule
Sv	Stativizing rule.

2.1 Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause Pattern.

The derivational potential for the DiTransitive clause pattern is given in Figure 22. All three subtypes of this pattern have the same derivational pattern.

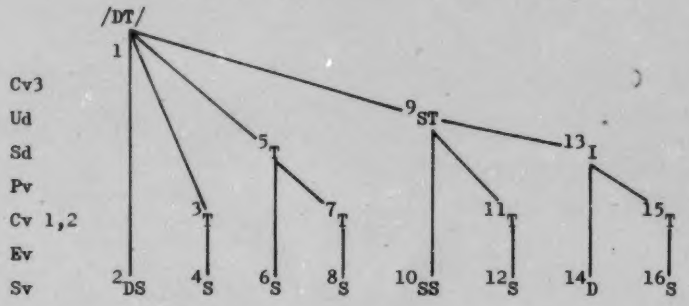

Figure 22. Derivations of the DiTransitive Clause.

1) DT aa:wu joka wenDi dilayi.
I gave him a rupee.

2) DS aa:wu joka wenDi daa asi.
I have given him a rupee.

3) T aa:wu joka wenDi dawaDlayi.
I caused someone to give him a rupee.

4) S aa:wu joka wenDi dawaDa asi.
I have caused someone to gove him a rupee.

5) T aa:wu wenDi dilayi.
I gave a rupee.

6) S aa:wu wenDi daa asi.
I have given a rupee.

7) T aa:wu wenDi dawaDlayi.
I had someone give a rupee.

8) S aa:wu wenDi dawaDa asi.
I have caused someone to give a rupee.

9) ST aa:wu joka dilayi.
I gave to him.

10) SS aa:wu joka daa asi.
I have given to him.

11) T aa:wu joka dawaDlayi.
I caused someone to give something to him.

12) S aa:wu joka dawaDa asi.
I have caused someone to give something to him.

13) I aa:wu dilayi.
I gave.

14) D aa:wu daa asi.
I have given.

15) T aa:wu dawaDlayi.
I caused someone to give.

16) S aa:wu dawaDa asi.
I have caused someone to give.

2.2 Derivations of the Transitive Clause Patterns.

The Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern A.

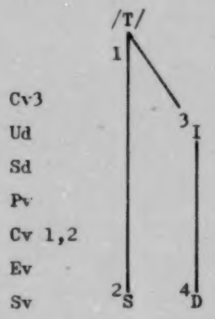

Figure 23. Derivations of Transitive Clause A.

1) T aa:wu mateli jaani.
I know the tale.

2) S aa:wu mateli jaana asi.
I am in a state of knowing the story.

3) I aa:wu jaani.
I know.

4) D aa:wu jaana asi.
I am in a state of knowing.

The Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern B.

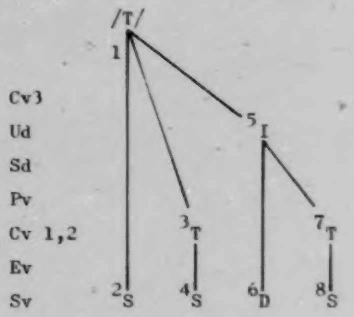

Figure 24. Derivations of Transitive Clause B.

1) T aam cimbo kaylam.
We ate rice.

2) S aam cimbo kaa asum.
We have eaten rice.

3) T aam cimbo kawaDlam.
We caused someone to eat rice.

4) S aam cimbo kawaDa asum.
We have caused someone to eat rice.

5) I aam kaylam.
We ate.

6) D aam kaa asum.
We have eaten.

7) T aam kawaDlam.
We caused someone to eat.

8) S aam kawaDa asum.
We have caused someone to eat.

The Derivations of the Transitive Clause Pattern C.

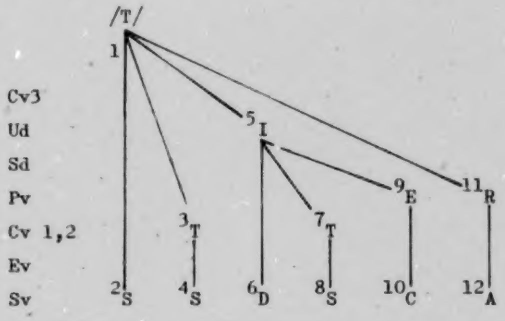

Figure 25. Derivations of Transitive Clause C.

1) T aa:wu paani suwilayi.
I spilled water.

2) S aa:wu paani suwa asi.
I have spilled water.

3) T aa:wu paani suwayilayi.
I caused someone to spill water.

4) S aa:wu paani suwaDa asi.
I have caused someone to spill water.

5) I aa:wu suwilayi.
I spilled (it).

6) T aa:wu suwa asi.
I have spilled (it).

7) T aa:wu suwaylayi.
I caused it to spill.

8) S aa:wu suwawa asi.
I have caused someone to spill it.

9) E suwi jaa geli.
Something became spilled.

10) C suwi jaa geca ase.
Something has become spilled.

11) R paani suwi jaa geca ase.
The water became spilled.

12) A paani suwi jaa geca ase.
The water has become spilled.

2.3 Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause Pattern.

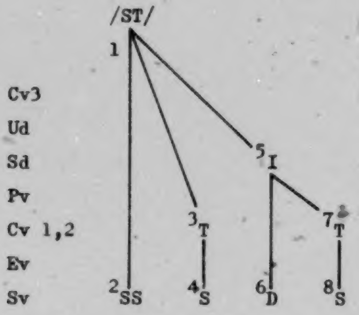

Figure 26. Derivations of the SemiTransitive Clause.

1) ST jo gerri pesilo.
He entered the house.

2) SS jo gerri pesa ase.
He has entered the house.

3) T jo gerri pesaylo.
He caused someone to enter the house.

4) S jo gerri pesawa ase.
He has caused someone to enter the house.

5) I jo pesilo.
He entered.

6) D jo pesa ase.
He has entered.

7) T jo pesaylo.
He caused someone to enter.

8) S jo pesawa ase.
He has caused someone to enter.

2.4 Derivations of the Intransitive Clause Pattern.

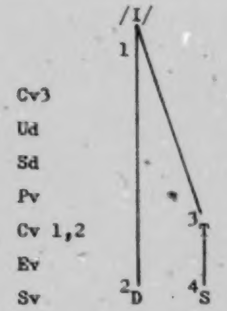
/I/
1
Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
Cv 1,2
Ev
Sv
3T
2D
4S

Figure 27. Derivations of the Intransitive Clause.

1) I booda eeDlo.
The child cried.

2) D booda eeDa ase.
The child has cried.

3) T booda eeDaylo.
The child caused someone to cry.

4) S booda eeDawa ase.
The child has caused someone to cry.

2.5 The Derivations of the DiReceptive Clause Patterns.

The Derivations of the DiReceptive Clause A.

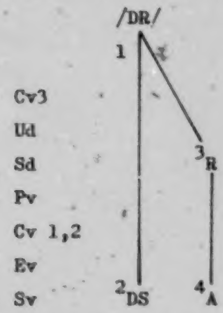
/DR/
1
Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
Cv 1,2
Ev
Sv
3R
2DS
4A

Figure 28. Derivations of the DiReceptive Clause A.

1) DR angka Dumbo Diisili.
A ghost appeared to me.

2) DS angka Dumbo Diisa ase.
A ghost has appeared to me.

3) R Dumbo Diisili.
A ghost appeared.

4) A Dumbo Diisa ase.
A ghost has appeared.

The Derivations of the DiReceptive Clauses B and C.

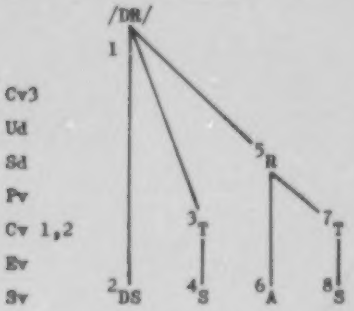

Figure 29. Derivations of the DiReceptive Clauses B and C.

1) DR duudu tapella tento geeDli.
Milk spilled from the pot.

2) DS duudu tapella tento geeDa ase.
Milk has spilled from the pot.

3) T duudu tapella tento geeDaylo.
Someone spilled milk from the pot.

4) S duudu tapella tento geeDava ase.
Someone has spilt milk from the pot.

5) R duudu geeDli.
Milk spilled.

6) A duudu geeDa ase.
Milk has spilled.

7) T duudu geeDaylo.
Someone caused the milk to spill.

8) S duudu geeDawa ase.
Someone has caused the milk to spill.

2.6 Derivations of the Receptive Clause Patterns.

Derivations of the Receptive Clause A.

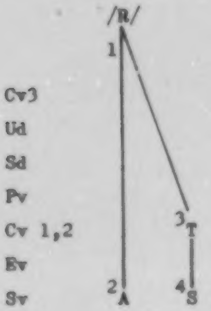
/R/
1
Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
Cv 1,2
Ev
Sv
2
A
3
T
4
S

Figure 30. Derivations of the Receptive Clause A.

1) R booda jermilan.
A child was born.

2) A booda jerma ase.
A child has been born.

3) T booda jermayli.
Someone caused the child to be born.

4) S booda jermawa ase.
Someone has caused the child to be born.

The Derivations of the Receptive Clause B.

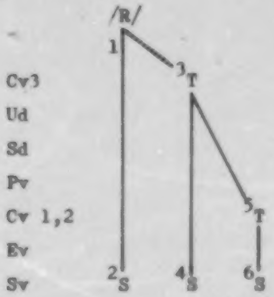
/R/
1
Cv3
Ud
Sd
Pv
Cv 1,2
Ev
Sv
2
S
3
T
4
S
5
T
6
S

Figure 31. Derivations of the Receptive Clause B.

1) R ja teer booda teyyar jalli.
The woman became ready.

2) A ja teer booda teyyar jaa ase.
The woman has become ready.

3) T ayyasi ja teer boodaka teyyar kerli.
Her mother caused the girl to become ready.

4) S ayyasi ja teer boodaka teyyar kera ase.
Her mother has caused the girl to become ready.

5) T ayyasi ja teer boodaka teyyar kerayli.
Her mother caused someone to cause the girl to become ready.

6) S ayyasi ja teer boodaka teyyar kerawa ase.
Her mother has caused someone to cause the girl to become ready.

2.7 Derivations of DiAttributive Clause Patterns.

For the DiAttributive cell we have posited 10 subtypes. They are contrasted in Figure 34. This figure shows some eventivization and causativization verbs and the clause types to which they may be applied. Also the negative transform is shown. In addition to this Figures 32 and 33 show contrast among the subtypes which are formed by use of the derivations discussed in Section D.1. The Personal State, Possessive, and Desiderative DiAttributives do not take any of the derivational rules explained in that section.

The Derivations of the Relationship DiAttributive Clause.

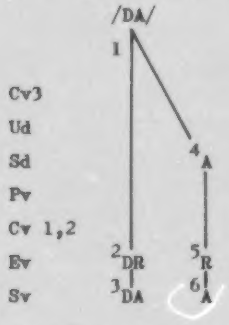

Figure 32. Derivations of the Relationship DiAttributive Clause.

1) DA angka ja teer booda terni ase.
That woman is my wife.

2) DR angka ja teer booda terni jalli.
That woman became my wife.

3) DA angka ja teer booda terni jaa ase.
That woman has become my wife.

4) A ja teer booda terni ase.
That woman is my wife.

5) R ja teer booda terni jalli.
That woman became my wife.

6) A ja teer booda terni jaa ase.
That woman has become my wife.

The Subjective, Existive, Locative, and Descriptive Diattributive subtypes may be derived into the Attributive sets by deletion of the Site tagmeme. The other derivations discussed in Section D.1, have been found not to apply to these subtypes. The Site deletion rule will not be illustrated in these cases.

The Derivations of the Physical State and Attaching State DiAttributive Clauses.

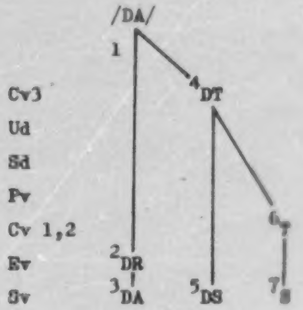

Figure 33. Derivations of the Physical State and Attaching State DiAttributive Clauses.

1) DA ja anngi ase.
She is pregnant.

2) DR ja anngi jalli.
She became pregnant.

3) DA ja anngi jaa ase.
She has become pregnant.

4) DT jo jeeka angngi kerlo.
He made her pregnant.

5) DS jo jeeka angngi kara ase.
He has made her pregnant.

6) T jo jeeka angngi keraylo.
He caused someone to make her pregnant.

7) S jo jeeka angngi kerawa ase.
He has caused someone to make her pregnant.

Subtypes / Derivations		Personal State	Possessive	Desiderative	Relationship	Subjective	Existive	Locutive	Physical State	Descriptive	Attaching State
Eventivizers											
keruka	'to do'	x								x	
seeDuka	'to fall'		x						x		
jangka	'to become'		x		x				x		
jengka	'to come'	x								x	x
doruku jangka	'to gain'		x								
Diisuka	'to appear'							x			
Causativizers											
tedrawuka	'to send'	x					x	x		x	
keruka	'to do'								x		x
dengka	'to give'		x								
Negative Transforms											
nay	'not'	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
nenj-	'not'				x						

Figure 34. Contrast Chart of Subtypes of the DiAttributive Clause.

2.8 Derivations of the Attributive Clause Patterns.

For the Attributive clause we have posited five subtypes. They are contrasted in Figure 36. This figure shows some eventivization and causativization verbs and the clause types to which they may be applied. Also the negative transform is shown. Attributive Subsets 3.81 and 3.82 do not have any of the derivations discussed in Section D.1. The derivations of Subset 3.85 is not known.

The Derivations of the Definitive and Attaching State Attributive Clauses.

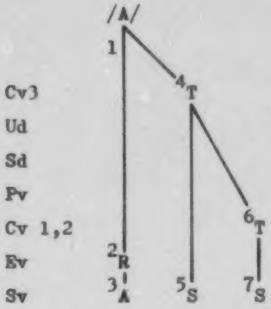

Figure 35. Derivations of the Definitive and Attaching State Attributive Clauses.

1) A raamuDu preema ase.
Ramudu is beloved.

2) R raamuDu preema jallo.
Ramudu became beloved.

3) A raamuDu preema jaa ase.
Ramudu has become beloved.

4) T jeewu raamuDuka preema kerla.
They caused Ramudu to be loved.

5) S jeewu raamuDuka preema kera asti.
They have caused Ramudu to be loved.

6) T jeewu raamuDuka preema kerayla.
They caused someone to cause Ramudu to become loved.

7) S jeewu raamuDuka preema kerawa asti.
They have caused someone to cause Ramudu to become loved.

Subtypes / Derivations		Existive	Obligatory/ Permissive	Definitive	Attaching State	Prohibitive
Eventivizers						
jermuka	'to be born'	x				
jangka	'to become'			x	x	
seeDuka	'to fall'				x	
Causativizers						
keruka	'to do'	x		x	x	
banduka	'to build'	x				
Negative Transforms						
nay	'not'	x			x	x
nenj-	'not'		x	x		

Figure 36. Contrasts Chart of Subtypes of the Attributive Clause.

E. Dependent Patterns.

In this section we propose to discuss the manifestation and distribution of some dependent clauses. At this stage we are assuming that the relationships between the roles and markers of the nuclear dramatis personae of independent clauses are the same as those of dependent clauses. These relationships, therefore, will not be in focus here. Rather, we wish to show how independent clauses are made dependent, and to give some idea of the construction of the verb phrase of dependent clauses.

Depandent clauses do not occur in isolation. They are always paired with independent clauses to form sentences, or with other dependent clauses to form sentences. They may also occur embedded in other clauses. Dependent clauses do not occur as exponents of independent base tagmemes of sentences. The distribution of the dependent clauses described in this paper is shown in Figures 37 and 38.

The formula for the verb phrase for some active dependent patterns in Kupia was briefly mentioned in Section C. It is repeated here for convenience.

$$VP = \pm dneg + Sbase \pm \left[nfss + Mbase\right] \pm \left[nfss + Seq/Auxbase\right] + dss$$

Frequently this formula is not expanded beyond:

$$VP = \pm neg + Sbase + dss$$

Dependent clauses are negated by the morpheme ne 'not' which occurs initially in the verb phrase.

The verb phrase in dependent clauses does not signal the person and number of the Subject. If the Subject of the dependent clause is different from the Subject of the clause with which it is paired, it must be indicated as a free form in the dependent clause. Also, in most cases the tense of a dependent clause is not signalled, but must be taken from the clause with which it is paired.

A comparison between the formulas of the verb phrase for independent clauses and dependent clauses shows: a) a different location of the negative tagmeme; b) the addition of the Sequentive base tagmeme to the Ausiliary base tagmeme of the independent clause; and c) the replacement of the final stem suffixes, post verbals, and question tagmemes of the independent clause by the dependent stem suffix tagmeme of the dependent clause.

Clauses are made dependent in three ways in Kupia. Firstly by participial exponents of the dependent stem suffix slot, secondly by relators of axis-relator constructions, and thirdly by special constructions (Indefinite dependent clauses). We will now discuss the various dependent clauses, according to these three ways by which they are made dependent.

1. Participial Clauses.

There are two participial clauses in Kupia, Cl -te and Cl -a, corresponding to the imperfect participle -ite/-te, and the perfect participle -a respectively.

Clause No.	Participle Marker	Clause Abbreviation	Distribution of the Clause
1.	-ite/-te	Cl -te	Axis slot of AR Cl podi Margin of Simultaneous A Sentence
2.	-a	Cl -a	Margin of Sequence A Sentence

Figure 37. Distribution of Cl -te and Cl -a.

1.1 Participial Clause -te.

Internal Structure. This clause has the imperfect participle -te filling the dependent stem suffix slot. Typically the verb phrase is limited to:

VP = $\pm$ neg + stem $\pm$ Mbase + dss

That is, causatives, the actor reflexive suffix, and auxiliary verbs do not normally occur.

Distribution. The distribution of this clause is as an exponent of the margin of Simultaneous A Sentence, and as the exponent of the axis slot of AR Cl podi. In the following examples (of Simultaneous A Sentences) the participial clause describes the circumstances occurring at the time of the action of the following clause, or the manner in which the action of the following clause was carried out.

jä awwoka ammoka kaka erike neen-te
that mother to father to whoever to knowledge not to know-imp p

(lungka cooru uTTa gecula.)
(hiding thief moving go they will)
Without their mother or father or anyone knowing, (they will go off like thieves hiding.)

kaccitumu naayi ne men-te (roojuka kanTika eek wiseek jinni
certainly not emp not say-imp p daily all together one twenty people

jawusu santayi gecuka gecumde.)
become market to go inf go we will)
Without a doubt, (every day some twenty of us will go to a market.)

ingka allara ker-a gel-te (iinjeewu almalu kuuDanu...
moreover trouble do-imp complete-imp p (these monkeys also

ambesiwo etki keeD-aw-a geltati.)
mangoes all finish-kl-pp completely they)
Moreover, causing all the trouble they can, (these monkeys also... completely finish off all the mangoes.)

Frequently the stem plus participial suffix -te is repeated up to four times. As such its function is to give the sense of an action going on and on. There are five occurrences of clauses having a repetitive verb phrase in our concordance, with the verb keruka 'to do,' aanuka 'to bring,' voguka 'to climb,' jangka 'to become,' and gecuka 'to go.'

dasse ge-te ge-te ge-te (mulliyo basayi gelo.)
this way go-imp p go-imp p go-imp p junk seller hut to went he)
Going on and on and on like this, (he came to a junk seller's hut).

(iskolte galile podi) ketti ge diisalu sadu ker-te ker-te
(school to putting time) how many ever days read do-imp p do-imp p

ker-te (abbosi mora gelo.)
do-imp p (father his dying went he)
(While at school) while he had continuously been reading for a good many days, (his father died).

Note that in the last example the repetitive verb phrase has a verbal object, sadu 'read,' which is not repeated with each repition of the stem.

1.2 Participial Clause -a.

Internal Structure. This clause has the perfect participle suffix -a as the exponent of the dependent stem suffix slot. It frequently has the full verb phrase expansion and occurs as an exponent of the margin of Sequence A Sentence. As such it is, therefore, of frequent occurrence in procedural discourse.

kaam ker-a (ayilo).
work do-pp (came he)
Having done the work, (he came).

jo gerru band-uka der-a (kaam mulla dilo.)
he house build-inf start-pp (work leaving gave he)
Having started to build a house, (he gave up work on it).

angka telive ta-a ker-a (aa:wu jiinlayi.)
me to knowledge remain-pp do-pp (I passed-the exam).
Knowledge having come to me, (I passed the exam).

kooni dinnalu jo doonaDi duupumu der-an-a ker-a (kooni
some days he two portions scented oil carry-ar-pp do-pp some

dinnalu tappasu wessilo.)
days sat down he)
Some days later, after having carried two portions of scented oil for himself, (he sat down for some days).

Distribution. This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Sequence A Sentence.

2. Axis-Relator Clauses.

The clauses made dependent by relators are shown in Figure 36, with their distribution.

2.1 Asix-Relator Clause (-i).

Internal Structure. The formula for this clause is:

Clause No.	Clause Abbreviation	Relator Exponent	Details of the Distribution of the Clause
1	AR Cl (-*i*)	(-*i*)	Modifier slot of NP Axis slot of some AR Cl's
2	AR Cl 1.1	-*le* or -*le* *gina*	Axis slot of AR Cl *podi* Margin of Cond/Temp-Rslt A Sen. Margin of Cond/Temp-Rslt B Sen. Margin of Contrafactual Sen.
3	AR Cl 1.2	-*le* *kayi*	Margin of Cond/Temp-Rslt A Sen. Margin of Contrafactual Sen. Base 1 of Antithetical C Sen.
4	AR Cl 1.3	-*le* *kuDa*	Margin of Concession-Contraexp. Sentence
5	AR Cl 1.4	-*le*	Margin of Statement-Identification Sentence
6	AR Cl 1.5	-*la*	Margin of Dependent Negative Conditional Sentence
7	ARRCl	(*risso*)	Margin of Reason-Result B Sentence Base 1 of Reason-Result A Sentence
8	AR Cl *podi*	*podi*	Margin of Simultaneous A Sentence
9	AR Cl *taruwata*	(*taruwata*)	Margin of Sequence A Sentence
10	AR Cl -*kayi*	-*kayi*	Margin of Sequence A Sentence Margin of Simultaneous A Sentence
11	AR Cl -*uka*	(-*uka*)	Purpose and Subject Slot of Clause

Figure 38. Distribution of Axis-Relator Clauses.

AR Cl (-*i*) = Axis:D Cl 1 + Rel: (-*i*)

D Cl 1 is a dependent clause whose verb phrase dependent stem suffix slot has exponents -*it*/-*t* (imperfect aspect) and -*il*/-*l* (perfect aspect). This clause only occurs as an exponent of the axis of AR Cl (-*i*).

The relator of AR Cl (-*i*) contrasts for feminine singular, -*i*; masculine singular, -*o*; and plural, -*a*. The function of these relators is to adjectivize the dependent clause. The possible combinations of dependent stem suffix exponents and relator exponents are shown in

Figure 39.

Relator Aspect Suffix	Singular		Plural
	Masculine -o	Feminine -i	-a
Imperfect -it/-t	-it-o/-t-o	-it-i/-t-i	-it-a/-t-a
Perfect -il/-l	-il-o/-l-o	-il-i/-l-i	-il-a/-l-a

Figure 39. Dependent Stem Suffixes Plus Relator (-i).

Typically the maximum expansion of the verb phrase for this clause is:

VP = ± neg + Sbase + dss

Distribution. The three ways this clause is distributed are:

a) The clause can be the exponent of the modifier slot of noun phrases;

rand-it-i maansu (as-e).
cook-imp-f person (be-3s)
The female cook is here.

jeewu geeru ne dek-it-a maansulu (as-ti).
those house not see-imp-pl people (be-3pl)
The people who did not see the house are here.
(Literally, the house-not-seeing people are here)

b) It can also fill the modifier slot of the nominalized noun phrase (NP-so). The nominalizer suffixes agree with their antecedents in number and gender as shown in Figure 38.

Number Gender	Singular	Plural
Masculine	-so	-sa
Feminine	-si	

Figure 40. Nominalizing suffixes for Cl (-i).

kaam ker-t-o-so-ka (Dabbulu dilo.)
work do-imp-m-nom-to (money gave)
(He gave money) to the worker.

geeru band-ito-so (ayilo.)
house build-imp m-nom (came)
The house builder (came). (Literally, the house-building one came.)

c) This clause is also an exponent of the axis of the axis-relator clauses shown below. For examples of AR Cl (-i) as an exponent of these clauses, see the discussion under the various clauses.

AR Cl (taruwata)
AR Cl podi
ARR Cl
AR Cl -tikayi

2.2 Axis-Relator Clause 1.1.

Internal Structure. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl 1.1 = Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: (-le)

D Cl 2 is a dependent clause whose verb phrase dependent stem suffix slot has a zero morpheme exponent. It is not unusual for the verb phrase of this clause to be fully expanded when it fills this slot.

The relator of this clause is either -le 'if/when' or -le gina 'if particular/when particular.'

tuuwi ay-ile...
you come-if
If you come...

jo geeru band-uka modol ker-le...
he house build-inf start do-if...
If he starts to build a house...

ja gorre mor-a gel-le (ja gaa:vica kicco kerla.)
that goat die-pp complete-when (that village's people what do they)
When the goat died, (what did the villagers do?)

tuuwi gen-te ti-le gina (dekitam).
you buy-imp be-if particular (see we would have)
If you in particular had been buying it (we would have seen).

Note: The function of gina 'particular' is to make the condition or proposition more specific, focussing on a specific item, usually the Subject. Thus in the above example, there is something special about tuuwi 'you,' this information would normally be conveyed by intonation in English.

Distribution. This clause fills the margin slot of Conditional/Temporal-Result Sentences.

2.3 Axis-Relator Clause 1.2.

Internal Structure. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl 1.2 = Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: -la kayi

The relator of this clause is -la kayi 'if' or sometimes 'if then.' but in contrast to AR Cl 1.1, examples have not been found where the relator means 'when.' The axis exponent is D Cl 2.

ja bangar kaD-a gel-le kayi...
that gold fetch-pp complete-if then
If (they) fetch the gold...

ja kaam ker-le kayi...
that work do-if
If (you) do that work...

tuuwi ay-ile kayi (dekitadi).
you come-if then (seen you would have)
If you would have come you would have seen.

Distribution. The distribution of this clause is in the margin slots of Conditional/Temporal-Result Sentence A and Contrafactual Sentence and in Base 1 of the Antithetical Sentence C.

2.4 Axis-Relator Clause 1.3.

Internal Structure. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl 1.3 = Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: -le kuDa

The relator of this clause is -le kuDa 'if even,' and the axis exponent is D Cl 2.

aa:wu ge-le kuDa (ja laTab-e naayi).
I go-if even (she speak-3s not-emp)
Although I went, (she did not speak.)

jo geeru band-uka der-le kuDa (aa:wu dek-i nay.)
he house build-inf start-if even (I see-1s not)
Although he started to build the house, (I did not see it).

Distribution. This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Concession-Contraexpectation Sentence.

2.5 Axis-Relator Clause 1.4.

Internal Structure. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl 1.4 = Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: -le

The relator of this clause is *-le* 'when.' The clause contrasts with AR Cl 1.1, not only because of the gloss of the relator, but also because of the restrictions on the filler class of the Sbase stem of D Cl 2. This requires one of a special set of 'speech' verbs. To date *sanguka* 'to say' and *menuka* 'to say' have been found. The semantic function of the clause is to identify, explain, or give a summary of the subsequent propositions.

amci eejansite penDli me-le...
our hill area in marriage say-when
When we speak of marriage in our hill area...

penDli men-a sang-ile...
marriage say-pp say-when
Speaking of marriage...

Distribution. This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Statement-Identification Sentence.

2.6 Axis-Relator Clause 1.5.

Internal Structure and Distribution. The formula for this clause is:

ARR Cl = Axis: AR Cl (-*i*) + Rel: (*risso*)

The relators of this clause are *risso* 'because' and *anduka* 'because.' The axis exponent is AR Cl (-*i*).

otta ja deeyawataci puuja ker-ti risso (puujaka weDDalu
there that god's worship do-imp because (priest to fields

dila.)
gave they)
Because of their worshipping the god deeyawata there, (they gave fields to the priest.)

Dangk-a gel-li risso...
submerged-pp complete-pa because
Because the ground became completely submerged...

buu: wiwo etki buDD-a gel-li anduka...
grounds all drown-pp complet[illegible]a because
Because all the grounds became completely drowned...

Distribution. This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Reason-Result Sentence B.

2.8 Axis-Relator Clause *podi*.

Internal Structure. The formula for this clause is:

$$\text{AR Cl } \underline{\text{podi}} = \text{Axis: } \begin{bmatrix} \text{Cl } (-\underline{\text{i}}) \\ \text{Cl } -\underline{\text{te}} \\ \text{AR Cl 1.1} \end{bmatrix} + \text{Rel: } \underline{\text{podi}}$$

Axis exponent AR Cl (-*i*). The relator *podi* acts like a singular feminine noun, and so only -*i* is found as an exponent of the relator AR Cl (-*i*).

amco doro gaaru ja-a t-il-i podi...
our foreign man become-pp be-pa-f time
When our foreign man was here...

jo sang-il-i podi...
he say-pa-f time
At the time he said it...

Axis exponent Cl -*te*. The clause Cl -*te* modifies the word *podi* 'time.'

anci boodaka senDi utrayi-te podi...
our child to hair cut-imp p time
When it is time to cut our child's hair...

Axis exponent AR Cl 1.1. In the description of AR Cl 1.1, it was noted that the relator was either -*le* or -*le gina*. Only -*le* occurs when it is the exponent of the axis of AR Cl *podi*.

ne ker-le podi (gerri tayede.)
not do-when time (house in remain he will)
When he is not working, (he will stay in the house.)

eeku naaDu jerm-ile podi (jooka iskolte gal-a.)
one boy born-when time (him to school to put-they)
When the boy was born, (they put him to school.)

podi also occurs as the relator of the AR NP *podi*.

Distribution. This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Simultaneous Sentence A.

2.9 Axis-Relator Clause (*taruwata*).

Internal Structure. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl (*taruwata*) = Axis: Cl (-*i*) + Rel: (*taruwata*)

This clause has three relators, *taruwata* 'after,' *pimaTi* 'after,' and *tinto* 'from.'

The axis is manifested by AR Cl (-*i*). The D Cl 1 clause which is the exponent of the axis of AR Cl (-*i*) always has the perfect participial form -l as its dependent stem suffix exponent when in this environment. This is because AR Cl (taruwata) is an exponent of the margin slot of the Sequence Sentence A, where the action or state specified in the margin proposition must be completed before the action or state of the proposition of any following clauses. Also, AR Cl (-i) always has -i as its adjectivizer exponent, since the relators taruwata, pimaTi, and tinto act as singular feminine nouns.

buudar santa keeD-a ge-l-i taruwata...
Wednesday market finish go-pa-f after
After the Wednesday market has finished...

band-a gel-l-i pimaTi...
build-pp complete-pa-f after
After (they) finished building...

samaaru sukrari saaDupa ker-l-i tinto...
about Friday offering do-pa-f from
From the time of the offering, about Friday...

Distribution. This clause is an exponent of the margin slot of Sequence Sentence A.

2.10 Axis-Relator Clause -kayi.

Internal Structure and Distribution. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl -kayi = Axis: Cl (-i) + Rel: -kayi/-kayi sari

The relator of this clause is kayi 'as soon as' or kayi sari 'as soon as completely.' The axis exponent is Cl (-i). kayi acts as a singular feminine noun. The meaning of the relator kayi is presumed to be the reason that only the imperfect aspect -t (and not the perfect aspect -l) can occur in the axis of Cl (-i).

When the verb of the axis of Cl (-i) has the imperfect progressive aspect, AR Cl -kayi is an exponent of the margin slot of Simultaneous Sentence A.

appe jeewu ge-te ta-ti-kayi (aa:wu dekilayi.)
now they go-imp p remain-imp-as soon as (I saw)
They were going just now, I saw them.

jo geeru band-uka der-te ta-ti-kayi (jo uTTa gelo.)
he house build-inf start-imp p remain-imp-as soon as (he went)
As soon as he started to build a house, he got up and went.

When the verb of the axis of Cl (-i) has only the imperfect aspect, AR Cl -kayi is an exponent of the margin of Sequence Sentence A.

go be now men-ti-kayi sari
go now say-imp-as soon as completed...
As soon as he said, 'Go now...'

anne cuu ker-ti-kayi (ayilan).
again hunger do-imp-as soon as (he came)
Again, as soon as he felt hungry, (he came).

2.11 Axis-Relator -*uka*.

Internal Structure and Distribution. The formula for this clause is:

AR Cl -*uka* = Axis: D Cl 2 + Rel: (-*uka*)

AR Cl -*uka* is distributed in Subject and Purpose clause level slots. When filling the purpose level slot, it is usual for only one or two roles to be realized in the clause. Examples where AR Cl -*uka* fills the Subject slot of an Attributive Clause are:

kaka jawusu de-ngka as-e ge nay?
to whom become give-inf be pr-3s Q not
Must we give to whoever it is, or not?

jo otta gec-uka wiil nay.
he there go-inf absolutely not
It is forbidden for him to go there.

In the following examples AR Cl -*uka* is an exponent of a clause level purpose slot.

angka peTT-uka ayili.
me to hit-inf came she
She came to hit me.

AR Cl -*uka* can also occur alone as an independent Clause and as such the clause is in the Necessitative mood.

aa:wu ta-ngka
I remain-inf
I must remain.

3. *Indefinite Dependent Clauses*.

For Kupia we posit the Indefinite Axis-Relator Clause and the Indefinite Clause.

3.1 Indefinite Axis-Relator Clause.

Internal Structure and Distribution. This clause has only been found as an exponent of the margin slot of Proportional Sentence 1. The important features of the clause are: a) it contains a content question pro-word, and b) it has a relator which can be the same as the relators for conditional and concessive sentences. The base slot of Proportional Sentence 1 is realized as an Independent Clause having a co-relative pro-word (corresponding to the content question pro-word of the margin).

Some of the content question pro-words and their corresponding co-relative pro-words are:

Content Question pro-word/phrase		Co-relative pro-word/phrase	
keddoDi	'whenever'	teddoDi	'thenever'
keddi	'however much'	teddi	'that much'
ketti	'however much money'	teeti	'that much'
kicco	'whatever'	ja	'that ever'
kee:yakka	'whenever'	tee:yakka	'then'
keen wersi	'in whichever year'	ja diisi	'that day'
ketti	'however much'	donni waanTalu	'two shares more'
kiisi	'however'	dasi	'that way'
keene	'wherever'	eek waaTu	'one road'

The relators of the Indefinite Axis-Relator Clause are -le, -le gina, and -le kuDa. When a content question pro-word occurs in the clause, these relators mean 'ever,' 'ever particular,' and 'ever even' respectively. The pro-words occur in their corresponding dramatis persona slots in the clause.

kee:yakka korpa ja-le gina (tee:yakka deede.)
when wish become-ever particular (then give he will)
Whenever you wish something special, (then he will give it).

In this example the content question pro-word is kee:yakka 'when,' a time word filling the time slot in the clause. In the environment of the relator -le gina 'ever particular,' it is translated 'whenever.' Note also the co-relative pro-word in this case is tee:yakka 'thenever.'

ja naaDi nacuka kiisi aDugu gal-ila (jo naaDu dasi
that girl dance inf how steps throw-ever that boy that way

baa:wuci pungitayi.)
flute plays he)
However the girl steps the dance, that way the boy plays the flute.

3.2 Indefinite Clause.

Internal Structure and Distribution. This Clause is the exponent of Base 1 of Proportional Sentence 2. It has two distinguishing features: a) the presence of a content question pro-word, and b) the morpheme ge occurring clause final. When the clause contains a content question pro-word, ge means 'ever.' Base 2 of Proportional Sentence 2 is realized as an independent clause having a co-relative pro-word (corresponding to the content question pro-word of the margin.) The content question pro-words and co-relative pro-words are the same as those given above on the Axis-Relator Indefinite Clause.

ketti paysal tukka dilo ge (tetti paysal keeDa geli.)
how much money you to gave he ever (that much money finish went it)
However much money he gave to you, (that much went).

Also, the same two co-relative pro-words can occur in the same sentence.

tuka teddoDi saaman dilo ge (angka teddoDi saaman dilo.)
you to that much goods gave ever (me to that much goods gave he)
He gave to you the same amount of goods as he gave to me.

Abbreviations.

A/a	Attributive Clause
Act	Actor
Adj	Adjective
an	animate
ar	Actor Reflexive
Auxbase	Auxiliary Base
C	Circumstantial Clause
Cl	Clause
Cpl	Complement
Cv1,2,3	Causativizing rules
d	derived
D	Descriptive Clause
DA/da	DiAttributive Clause
DP	Dependent Predicate
DR/dr	DiReceptive Clause
DS	DiStative Clause
dss	Dependent Stem Suffixes
DT/dt	DiTransitive Clause
E	Eventive Clause
emp	emphatic
Ev	Eventivizing Rule
Evt	Event
f	Feminine
fss	Verb Phrase Final Stem Suffixes
Gol	Goal

I/i	Intransitive Clause
imp	Imperfect Aspect
imp p	Imperfect Participle
impv	Imperative
inan	Inanimate
In Cl	Independent Clause
inf	Infinitive
I.O.	Indirect Object
k1	Causative 1 (cv1)
k2	Causative 2 (cv2)
k3	Causative 3 (cv3)
Loc	Location
M	Marker (examples)
M1, M2	Matrix One, Matrix 2
m	Masculine
Mbase	Modal Base
n	Neuter
neg	Negative
nfss	Non-final Stem Suffixes of Verb Phrase
nom	Nominalizer
NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
P	Predicate
pa	Perfect Aspect
pl	Plural
pp	Perfect Participle
pr	Present Tense
Pv	Passivizing Rule
Q	Question Marker
R	Role (in examples)
R/r	Receptive Clause (in formulas)
Ref	Referent
S	Subject
s	Singular
S	Stative Clause
SA	SemiAttributive Clause
Sbase	Stem Base of Main Verb of Verb Phrase
Sd	Site Deletion Rule
Src	Source
Seqbase	Sequentive Base Slot of Verb Phrase
Sit	Site
SR	SemiReceptive Clause
SS	SemiStative Clause
ST/st	SemiTransitive Clause
Sv	Stativizing Rule

T/t	Transitive Clause
Ud	Undergoer Deletion Rule
Umk	Unmarked
Und	Undergoer
Vbl Obj	Verbal Object
VP	Verb Phrase
1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
∅	zero morpheme as filler

Conventions used.

(-uka)	The parentheses enclose a morpheme which is representative of the class to which it belongs.
( )	Encloses context not immediately part of the illustration.
$\begin{bmatrix}a\\b\\c\end{bmatrix}$	Either a, b, or c must be chosen.
-	Morpheme break when occurring in words in the examples.
/	'or'

Footnotes.

[1] Hale, Austin. 1973. Clause, sentence, and discourse patterns in selected languages of Nepal. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, 40.

[2] Trail, Ronald. 1973. Patterns in clause, sentence, and discourse in selected languages of India. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, 41.

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Clause Patterns in Maithili

Jennifer Williams

A. Introduction.

This paper has been produced in order to provide some materials on the Maithili language as it is spoken in the Janakpur area of Janakpur Zone, in the Terai, the southern plains area of Nepal. The material may be useful for grammatical comparison of those languages spoken in southern Nepal and India, particularly those of the Indo-Aryan language family.

It is pointed out that this paper has been written at a very early stage of analysis of the Maithili language and further research is necessary.

The following is a brief statement about the Maithili phonology and the orthography used for the examples and illustrations given in this paper. It is to be noted that the phonemic analysis is a tentative one only and is therefore subject to change.

In Figures 1 and 2 below the consonants and vowels are given, in each case followed by the orthographic equivalents.

It is to be noted that only an unaspirated and aspirated 'r' are written. Occurring initially 'r' is a tap; medially and finally it is a slightly retroflexed flap conditioned by the preceding phoneme. Aspirated 'r' occurs medially and finally only and is a slightly retroflexed flap. Lengthened 'r' is trilled, and in a consonant cluster 'r' is also a trill. In the environment of a voiceless consonant 'r' is voiceless and in Sanskrit words it is a fricative.

Other features are phonemic palatalization, labialization, nasalization, and consonant length. Palatalization is written as 'Cy', labialization as 'Cw', nasalization as ':' following the vowel or vowel complex, and consonant length as 'CC'.

Messrs. Keshav Thakur, 20 years of age, Jaya Narayan Jha, 18 years of age, and Shibnandan Mandal, 19 years of age, have served in the capacity of Language Assistants. I am indebted to them for their excellent help in gathering and checking the data on which this analysis is based.

Phonemic

stops vl	p	p^h	t	t^h	ṭ	$ṭ^h$	tš	$tš^h$	k	k^h
vd	b	b^h	d	d^h	ḍ	$ḍ^h$	dž	$dž^h$	g	g^h
fricatives			s							h
nasals	m	m^h	n	n^h						ŋ
liquids			l	l^h			r	r^h		
glides	w						y			

Orthographic

stops vl	p	ph	t	th	T	Th	c	ch	k	kh
vd	b	bh	d	dh	D	Dh	j	jh	g	gh
fricatives			s							h
nasals	m	mh	n	nh						ng
liquids			l	lh			r	rh		
glides	w						y			

Figure 1. Consonants in Maithili.

Phonemic

i		u		
e	ə	o	$ə^i$	$ə^u$
æ	a	ɔ		

Orthographic

i		u		
e	6	o	/i	/u
ae	a	)		

Figure 2. Vowels in Maithili.

all three were born in Ghorghas, a village in the Dhanusha District of Janakpur Zone, Nepal, and are still resident in that village.

I am very much indebted to Dr. Kenneth L. Pike for providing the theoretical background of this paper. I am also indebted to Dr. Austin Hale, who provided the basic approach, which paper is included in Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns (1972). Dr. Ronald L. Trail has been of great assistance in reading and criticizing an earlier draft of this paper. I am also very grateful for frequent stimulating discussions with the following colleagues: Mr. C. M. Bandhu, Mr. R. Caughley, Mr. B. Schoettelndreyer, Miss M. Schulze, Miss E. Strahm, and Mr. D. Watters.

B. *Basic Patterns.*

1. *The Contrastive System.*

1.1 The Role Marker System in Maithili.

This section shows how the three primary roles—Actor, Undergoer, and Site—are marked in Maithili. The combination of these roles produces the contrastive clause patterns in Maithili. Each of these three roles may be viewed as corresponding to a set of case relations. The roles are central to the sememic classification of clause patterns, as well as to the description of the derivational history of a clause. The three primary roles should include those cases that strictly subcategorize the verb, and the secondary roles should include those peripheral, case-like elements which partially subcategorize the verb.

The combinations of these three primary roles—Actor, Undergoer, and Site—result in the following matrix of eight cells, called the Transitivity System.

Receptive Set	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Di-Receptive
Transitive Set	Intransitive	Semi-Transitive	Transitive	Di-Transitive

Figure 3. The Transitivity System.

From certain considerations it becomes evident that Maithili verbs are inherently divided into the two major categories *State* and *Event*. If the distinction between State and Event is added to the Transitivity System, the Transitivity matrix is doubled. The system given in Figure 3 then represents the Event side of the system and the State side of the system is represented in terms of two additional sets, the *Stative* set and the *Attributive* set. It is to be noted here that at this stage of analysis no clauses in Maithili have been analyzed as belonging to the Stative set. The full system is given in Figure 4.

Normal Role Markers in Maithili. The correlation between markers and roles is basic to the identification of contrastive clause patterns in Maithili. In Figures 5 to 11 the normal markers have been summarized for the nuclear roles of Actor, Undergoer and Site within each of the transitivity patterns. In Maithili the nuclear roles of Actor is unmarked. Cells in which a given role cannot occur (by definition of the transitivity pattern) are marked by three hyphens. Cells for which no appropriate example of a given role have been found are marked by empty parentheses.

		Site	Undergoer	Und + Sit
State	Circumstantial	Semi-Attributive	Attributive	Di-Attributive
Sta	Descriptive	Semi-Stative	Stative	Di-Stative
Event	Eventive	Semi-Receptive	Receptive	Di-Receptive
Act	Intransitive	Semi-Transitive	Transitive	Di-Transitive

Figure 4. The Full Transitivity System.

C —	SA —	A —	DA —
D —	SS —	S —	DS —
E —	SR —	R —	DR —
I Umk	ST Umk	T Umk	DT Umk

Figure 5. Normal Actor Markers for Animate Actors and Statants. (Statants are not applicable in this analysis of Maithili.)

The forms referred to by label in Figures 5 to 11 are underlined in the examples given. 'M' stands for marker, 'R' for role.

1) Animate Actors.

I	h6m	th6k/i	chi
M	I Umk	tiring	am-PrI-1st
R	Act	Evt	

I am tired.

ST	Ram	Deb		g6ri	me		b/is/it	ch/ith
M	Ram	Deb	Umk	car	in	Loc	sitting	is-PrI-3h
R	Act			Sit			Evt	

Ram Deb is sitting in the car.

T h6m k6rin ke uphyog k6r/i chi
M I Umk karin Und use PEx doing am-PrI-1st
R Act Und Evt
I am using the karin (irrigating implement).

DT h6m hunka ekTa ciTThi likh/i chi
M I Umk her Gol one letter Umk writing am-PrI-1st
R Act Sit Und Evt
I am writing her a letter.

C —	SA —	A Umk	DA Umk
D —	SS —	S ( )	DS ( )
E —	SR —	R Umk	DR ( )
I —	ST —	T Gol	DT Gol

Figure 6. Normal Undergoer Markers for Animate Undergoers.

A o dh6nik ch/ith
M he Umk rich is-Pr-3h
R Und Cpl State
He is rich.

DA larka kursi p6r /ich
M boy Umk chair on Loc is-Pr-3nh
R Und Sit State
The boy is on the chair.

R Jibach b/irh gel
M Jibach Umk grown went-Cmp-3nh
R Und Evt
Jibach grew.

T Ram Sita ke dekhl6in
M Ram Sita Gol saw-Cmp-3h+3h
R Act Und Evt
Ram saw Sita.

DT ekTa k6rin me lok du admi ke pr/iyog k6r/it /ich
M one karin in Loc people two men Gol use PEx doing are-PrI-3nh
R Sit Act Und Evt
People use two men in a karin (irrigating implement).

C —	SA —	A Umk	DA Umk
D —	SS —	S ( )	DS ( )
E —	SR —	R Umk	DR ( )
D —	ST —	T Opt Gol	DT Opt Gol

Figure 7. Normal Undergoer Markers for Non-Personal Animate Undergoers.

A ghora ekTa j6nbar /ich
M horse Umk one animal is-Pr-3nh
R Und Cpl Sta
A horse is an animal.

DA ha:s pain me /ich
M duck Umk water in Loc is-Pr-3nh
R Und Sit Sta
The duck is in the water.

R gae m/ir gel
M cow Umk died went-Cmp-3nh
R Und Evt
The cow died.

T o kukur ke dekhl6in
M he Umk dog Opt Gol saw-Comp-3h+3nh
R Act Und Evt
He saw the dog.

DT o 6p6n b6r6d ke b6jar me l) gel
M he Umk his bullock Opt Gol market in Loc took went-Cmp-3nh
R Act Und Sit Evt
He took his bullock to the market.

C —	SA —	A Umk	DA Umk
D —	SS —	S ( )	DS ( )
E —	SR —	R Umk	DR Umk
I —	ST —	T Umk	DT Umk

Figure 8. Normal Undergoer Markers for Inanimate Undergoers.

A	ek6r	kar6n		/ich	arthikh	kar6n
M	its	reason	Umk	is-Pr-3nh	economic	reason
R	Und			Sta	Cpl	

Its reason is an economic reason.

DA	gh6r	me		ekTa	kebar		/ich
M	house	in	Loc	one	door	Umk	is-Pr-3nh
R	Sit			Und			Sta

There is one door in the house.

R	am		p6ik	gel
M	mango	Umk	ripe	went-Cmp-3nh
R	Und		Evt	

The mango ripened.

DR	gulab6k	ka:T		h6mra	pyaer	s6		nik/il	gel
M	rose-of	thorn	Umk	my	foot	from	Sce	came out	went-Cmp-3nh
R	Und			Sit				Evt	

The rose thorn came out of my foot.

T	o		kitab		p6rhl6in
M	he	Umk	book	Umk	read-Cmp-3h+3nh
R	Act		Und		Evt

He read the book.

DT	o		t6rkari	me		m6sala		del6k
M	she	Umk	vegetable	in	Loc	spices	Umk	gave-Cmp-3nh
R	Act		Sit			Und		Evt

She put spices in the vegetable.

C —	SA Gol	A —	DA Gol
D —	SS ( )	S —	DS ( )
E —	SR Gol	R —	DR Gol
I —	ST Gol+Loc	T —	DT Gol

Figure 9. Normal Site Markers for Animate-Goal Sites.

SA h6mra 6ber hoi-y6
M me to Gol late PEx is-PrI-3nh
R Sit Sta
I am late.

DA h6mra sat am 6i
M me to Gol seven mangoes Umk are-Pr-3nh
R Sit Und Sta
I have seven mangoes.

SR h6mra /ungghi laig gel
M me to Gol drowsiness PEx stuck went-Cmp-3nh
R Sit Evt
I got drowsy.

DR bhoj6n h6mra b6rhi:ya: laig gel
M meal Umk me to Gol good PEx stuck went-Cmp-3nh
R Und Sit Evt
The meal tasted good to me.

ST gae h6mra l6g ael
M cow Umk me to Gol near Loc came-Cmp-3nh
R Act Sit Evt
The cow came to me.

DT o hunka kitab del6k
M he Umk him to Gol book Umk gave-Cmp-3nh
R Act Sit Und Evt
He gave the book to him.

C —	SA Loc	A —	DA Loc
D —	SS ( )	S —	DS ( )
E —	SR ( )	R —	DR Loc
I —	ST Loc	T —	DT ~~Loc~~

Figure 10. Normal Site Markers for Inanimate-Locative Sites.

SA	gh6r	me		6nhar		/ich
M	house	in	Loc	dark	PEx	is-Pr-3nh
R	Sit			Sta		

It is dark in the house.

DA	kitab		bak6s	me		/ich
M	book	Umk	box	in	Loc	is-Pr-3nh
R	Und		Sit			Sta

The book is in the box.

DR	kaTh	me		ka:T		g6r6l
M	wood	in	Loc	nail	Umk	buried-Cmp-3nh
R	Sit			Und		Evt

A nail buried itself in the wood.

ST	o		gh6r	me		p/isl6k
M	he	Umk	house	in	Loc	entered-Cmp-3nh
R	Act		Sit			Evt

He entered the house.

DT	o		b6rt6n	me		pain		r6khl6in
M	she	Umk	pot	in	Loc	water	Umk	put-Cmp-3h+3nh
R	Act		Sit			Und		Evt

She put water in the pot.

C —	SA Loc+Sce	A —	DA Loc+Sce
D —	SS ( )	S —	DS ( )
E —	SR Loc+Sce	R —	DR Loc+Sce
I —	ST Loc+Sce	T —	DT Loc+Sce

Figure 11. Normal Site Markers for Inanimate-Source Sites.

SA	gh6r	me	s6		ijhot		/ich
M	house	in	from	Loc+Sce	light	PEx	is-Pr-3nh
R	Sit				Cpl		Sta

There is light from the house.

DA	h6mras6b	me	s6		b6hut	murkh		/ich
M	us	in	from	Loc+Sce	many	foolish	Umk	are-Pr-3nh
R	Sit				Und			Sta

Many foolish ones are among us.

SR	ba:s	me	s6		dekhai	p6r6l
M	bamboo	in	from	Loc+Sce	appear	fell-Cmp-3nh
R	Sit				Evt	

It appeared from the bamboo.

DR	pyaer	me	s6		ka:T		nik/il	gel
M	foot	in	from	Loc+Sce	thorn	Umk	came out	went-Cmp-3nh
R	Sit				Und		Evt	

A thorn came out of my foot.

ST	o		gh6r	me	s6		ael
M	he	Umk	house	in	from	Loc+Sce	came-Cmp-3nh
R	Act		Sit				Evt

He came out of the house.

DT	os6b		pain		inar	me	s6		anl6in
M	they	Umk	water	Umk	well	in	from	Loc+Sce	brought-Cmp-3h+3nh
R	Act		Und		Sit				Evt

They brought water from the well.

Role Markers on Verbs in Maithili. Roles are not marked in the verb in Maithili. Affixation on the verb will be discussed under the heading "Personal Terminations" found in this section under 1.3 The Focus Marker System.

1.2 Modifications of the Normal Pattern.

Modifications to the role marker system will be discussed in this section.

Modified Undergoer Markers. In Figure 6 above it was indicated that animate Undergoers in Transitive clauses are normally goal marked. The following example is optionally goal marked and is therefore an exception.

T	o		*b6cca*		dekhl6in
M	he	Umk	baby	Umk	saw-Cmp-3h+3nh
R	Act		Und		Evt

He saw *the baby*.

In Figure 8 above it was indicated that inanimate Undergoers are normally unmarked. However, there are numerous exceptions where the Undergoer marker may be optionally used, and some cases where it is obligatorily used. It may be that there is a further distinction between general and specific, but as no work has yet been done on discourse in Maithili it is not possible at this juncture to ascertain what further factors are involved in governing the use of the Undergoer marker.

The following are examples of goal-marked inanimate Undergoers.

DT	*m6ikrophon*	*ke*	h6m		hunka	dis		l6ga	deli6in
M	microphone	Gol	I	Umk	his	direction	Loc	stuck	gave-1st+3h
R	Und		Act		Sit			Evt	

I pointed *the microphone* towards him.

DT	oi	kursi	l6g	me		*6i*	*ke*	rakhu
M	that	chair	near	in	Loc	this	Gol	put-Imp-2h
R	Sit					Und		Evt

Put *this* by that chair.

T	o		*6pna*	*dhoti*	*ke*	n6i	p6kharl6k
M	he	Umk	his	dhoti	Gol	not	rinsed-Cmp-3nh
R	Act		Und			Evt	

He did not rinse *his dhoti* (a man's cloth).

T	os6b		*s6bha*	*ke*	rokhl6in
M	they	Umk	meeting	Gol	stopped-Cmp-3h+3nh
R	Act		Und		Evt

They interrupted *the meeting*.

Modified Site Markers. In addition to the simple locative form of the inanimate Site there are numerous other locative markers. A few examples are given below, but this is not to be considered an exhaustive list.

o kitab	*gh6r me*	phekhl6in.	He threw the book	*in the house.*
	h6mra up6r			*above me.*
	gach6k nicha			*under the tree.*
	gach6k t6r me			*under the tree.*
	oi kursi l6g me			*by that chair.*
	j6min p6r			*on the ground.*
	h6mra dis			*towards me.*
	h6mra p6cha s6			*behind me.*

It is to be noted that the source Site marker *s6* is very versatile and can mark the following:

Source:	*gh6r s6*	*from the house*
Means:	*g6ri s6*	*by car*
Instrument:	*ch6:ri s6*	*with a stick*
Manner:	*j6ldi s6*	*quickly*
Reason:	*oi kar6n s6*	*for that reason*

This marker would only be used in two or three slots in any clause to be considered good style; other markers being substituted where necessary.

The marker *s6* is also used in the following constructions:

Adverbial Embedding:	*del6 s6 p6hine*	*before he gave*
Comparative:	*hunka s6 n6mh6r phul*	*bigger flowers than he*
Superlative:	*s6dhar6n s6 s6dhar6n*	*extremely ordinary*

It should be noted that the Undergoer marker *ke* is also the Site marker when it is an Indirect Object. Apart from these functions it is the Genitive marker and marks certain pronouns in the Object and Indirect Object.

1.3 The Focus Marker System in Maithili.

1.31 Personal Terminations.

The Maithili verb exhibits a highly developed honorific system, which has been discussed by Dr. G. A. Grierson (1909), *An Introduction to the Maithili Dialect of the Bihari Language as spoken in North Bihar*, and by Dr. Subhadra Jha (1958), *The Formation of the Maithili Language*. "Personal Terminations" is the term used by them in discussing the verbal affixation.

On a preliminary analysis of the dialect under discussion in this paper it is suggested that there is a hierarchy in choosing the form of the verb to be used, using the ranking of honorific personal, personal, non-personal, animate, inanimate. It is also suggested that this is a focus device.

As third person honorific is the highest honorific form, it will be taken as the example for discussion below. It should be noted here that there are several possible forms, three of them being -6in (always written, and sometimes spoken, as-6inh), -6ith, and -ah. At this stage of analysis it appears that -6in refers to two cases, while -6ith and -ah refer only to Nominative case. The ending -ah is very frequently spoken as -a, but throughout this paper will be written as -ah.

It should also be mentioned at this point that there is no distinction of singular and plural in the Maithili verb.

When the Subject as Actor is third person honorific it can have an Object as Undergoer of honorific, non-honorific, non-personal animate and inanimate without the verb form being affected. Note the following examples in which the labels on the left refer to the rank of the Undergoer.

Honorific:	o	hunka	gh6r	1)	gel-6in
	he(h)	him(h)	house,	took	went-3h+3h
	He took him home.				

Non-honorific:	o	b6cca	dekhl-6in
	he(h)	baby(nh)	saw-3h+3nh
	He saw the baby.		

Non-personal animate:	o	gae	dekhl-6in
	he(h)	cow(npa)	saw-3h+3nh
	He saw the cow.		

Inanimate:	o	h6mra	p6r	kitab	phekhl-6in
	he(h)	me	on	book(inan)	threw-3h+3nh
	He threw the book at me.				

When the Subject as Actor is third person honorific it can have an Indirect Object as Site of honorific, non-honorific, non-personal animate and inanimate without the verb form being affected.

Honorific:	o	6ha:ke	kitab	dekh/ul-6in
	he(h)	you to(2h)	book	showed-3h+2h
	He showed you the book.			

Non-honorific:	o	h6mra	c6kku	del-6in
	she(h)	me to(nh)	knife	gave-3h+1nh
	She gave me the knife.			

Non-personal animate:	o	kukur ke	bhat	khu/ul-6in
	he(h)	dog to(npa)	rice	fed-3h+3nh
	He fed rice to the dog.			

Inanimate:	o	g6ri	me	b/isl-6in
	he(h)	car(npa)	in	sat-3h+3nh
	He sat in the car.			

From these examples one could say that -6in was just following the third person honorific Subject. However, note the following examples:

When the Object as Undergoer is third person honorific.

6ha:	hunka	Janakpur	p6Th61-i-6in
you(h)	him(h)	Janakpur	sent-2h-3h

You sent him to Janakpur.

When the Referent as Site (IO) is third person honorific.

o	hunka	ekTa	ciTThi	likhl-6in
he(nh)	him(h)	one	letter	wrote-3nh+3h

He wrote him a letter.

When the possessive pronoun of the Referent as Site is third person honorific.

m6ikrophon	ke	h6m	hunka	dis	16ga	del-i-6in
microphone	Gol	I	his(h)	direction	stuck	gave-1st-3h

I pointed the microphone towards him (his direction).

When the Subject is Undergoer, and the Referent is Site (IO) and third person honorific.

6ha:ke	ciTThi	Pr6dhan	P6nc	ke	p)hu:cl-6in
your(h)	letter(inan)	Pradhan	Panch	Gol	reached-3nh+3h

Your letter reached the Pradhan Panch (head man).

It can be seen in these examples that the verb is agreeing with the third person honorific in other than the Subject position. It seems at this point of investigation that the ending -6in may not be used when referring to the Subject only. It appears to be a device to bring into focus the person of highest esteem. It is possible to use the endings agreeing with the Subject only, but it is not considered as good, with the above forms definitely preferred.

When desired to bring into view two persons in different cases, these can both be shown in the verb by affixation as is shown in the following examples.

o	kukur	ke	mar6l-khin
he(h)	dog	Gol(npa)	hit-3h+3nh

He hit the dog.

o	hunka	khet	del-khin
he(h)	him(h)	field	gave-3h+3h

He gave him a field.

h6m hunka Janakpur 1) gel-i-6in
I him(h) Janakpur took went-1st-3h
I took him to Janakpur.

h6m ek-e kh6sa del-i-6i
I one-emph drop gave-1st-3nh
I dropped it (that very one).

6ha: okra Janakpur paTh6l-i-6i
you(h) him(nh) Janakpur sent-2h-3nh
You sent him to Janakpur.

ki 6ha: hunka phul del-i-6in
Int you(h) her(h) flowers gave-2h-3h
Did you give her flowers?

h6m tora cinh6l-i-/u:
I you(nh) recognized-1st-2nh
I recognized you.

The above are just a few of the possible combinations. Other combinations may be seen in Figure 12 below.

The Subject, Object, or Indirect Object may be deleted with the Personal Terminations in the verb showing the meaning, for example:

burha ch6-thin
old one (male) is-3h+3h
Is the old one hers? (i.e., Is the old one her husband?)

dekh6l-k6i
saw-3nh+3nh
He saw him.

Further examples are given below to illustrate how the various honorific forms attract the verb ending. It is to be noted that first person is never considered honorific in any form and therefore does not attract the verb ending, but has verb agreement only when in the Subject position. The second person highest honorific form (referred to in this paper as second person honorific) has the same verb endings as first person. It is interesting to note that this form, the highest honorific form of second person, also does not attract the verb ending, but has verb agreement only when in the Subject position. It is suggested this is because it uses the same verb endings as first person. The underlined words in the following examples show which forms are attracting which verb forms.

o kitab h6m6r 6i
that book mine is-3nh
That book is mine.

o kitab 6ha:ke 6i
that book yours(h) is-3nh
That book is yours.

o kitab toh6r ch-/u
that book yours(nh) is-2nh
That book is yours.

o kitab hunk6r ch-6in
that book his(h) is-3h
That book is his.

o kitab ok6r ch-6i
that book his(nh) is-3nh
That book is his.

i h6m6r gh6r 6i
this my house is-3nh
This is my house.

i 6ha:ke gh6r 6i
this your(h) house is-3nh
This is your house.

i ekTa gh6r 6i
this one house is-3nh
This is a house.

i toh6r gh6r ch-/u
this your(nh) house is-2nh
This is your house.

i hunk6r gh6r ch-6in
this his(h) house is-3h
This is his house.

i ok6r gh6r ch-6i
this his(nh) house is-3nh
This is his house.

h6mra ekTa kitab 6i
me to one book is-3nh
I have a book. (Lit. 'to me a book is')

6ha:ke ekTa kitab 6i
you to(h) one book is-3nh
You have a book. (Lit. 'to you a book is')

tora ekTa kitab ch-/u
you to(nh) one book is-2nh
You have a book. (Lit. 'to you a book is')

hunka	ekTa	kitab	ch-6in
him to(h)	one	book	is-3h

He has a book. (Lit. 'to him a book is')

okra	ekTa	kitab	ch-6i
him to(nh)	one	book	is-3nh

He has a book. (Lit. 'to him a book is')

The following is a matrix showing the combined Personal Terminations in the Completive Aspect only of the Transitive verb, consonant final root, dekh6b 'to see'. Note that x = cannot occur, —— = does not occur.

Other / Subject		3rd person		2nd person			1st person
		hon.	non-hon.	mid-hon.	non-hon.	hon.	
3rd person	hon.	-16in -61k6in -61khin	-16in -61k6in -61khin	-61khun -61thun	-61khun -61thun	-16in	-16in
	non-hon.	-16in -61k6in -61khin	-61k6i	-61ko	-61k/u	——	——
2nd person	mid-hon.	-16h6h -16hun	-16h6h	x	x	x	——
	non-hon.	-16hi -16hun	-16hi	x	x	x	——
	hon.	-61i6in	-61i6i	x	x	x	——
1st person		-61i6in	-61i6i	-61iyo	-61iy/u	——	——

Figure 12. Possible Combinations of the Personal Terminations.

It will be noticed that in several cells more than one ending occurs. Further analysis needs to be done to determine the functions of these endings. Note that -61 marks Completive Aspect, and that morphophonemic rules affect its form.

The set of endings used when verb agreement is with the Subject only are given below. The endings given are those used with the Completive Aspect, Transitive verbs. A full system of verb endings may be seen in Section C, Inflected Patterns.

1st person	-l/u:	-li
2nd person		
hon.	-l/u:	-li
mid-hon.	-l6h	
non-hon.	-le	
3rd person		
hon.	-l6ith	
non-hon.	-l6k	

1.32 Grammatical Organization.

The relational categories of Subject (S), Object (O), Indirect Object (IO), Referent (Ref), Adjunct (A), and Predicate (P) are required in order to describe the grammatical organization of a clause.

The Subject in Maithili is easily identifiable, as the person of the Subject is always marked in the verb. The Subject need not be explicitly mentioned in the clause as the verb will tell the person in its appropriate honorific form. It is possible to mark not only the person of the Subject in the verb, but also the person involved in any of the above categories. This has been discussed under the heading of "Personal Terminations". However, the following examples are given to illustrate Subject and Predicate agreement.

h6m h6:s-l-/u:
I laughed-Cmp-1st
I laughed.

to: kan-l-e
you(nh) wept-Cmp-2nh
You wept.

o ge-l-ah
he(h) went-Cmp-3h
He went.

dekh-b-o
see-F-2mh
You will see.

No strict word order is followed by nuclear roles. However, where there is no particular role in focus it appears to be more natural for animate to precede inanimate roles. In a Ditransitive clause where the three roles of Actor, Undergoer, and Site occur, the most common word order appears to be Actor, Site, Undergoer, but this is certainly not a fixed order. Note the following examples where all animate roles and all inanimate roles occur, and the change in word order where an animate Undergoer and an inanimate Site are incorporated.

o h6mra b6cca ke dekh/ul6k
she me to baby Gol showed
Act Sit Und Evt
She showed me the baby.

o h6mra ekTa gae del6in
he me to one cow gave
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave me a cow.

o pusTKale me kitab pr6dan kel6in
he library in book donation did
Act Sit Und Evt
He donated a book to the library.

o h6mra bah6r bh6ga del6k
he me outside chase gave
Act Und Sit Evt
He chased me outside.

In the DiReceptive clause pattern where the Subject is Undergoer and the Referent is Site (IO), the following appears to be the preferred word order with animate taking precedence over inanimate.

okra bokhar chuit gel6i
him to fever release went
Sit Und Evt
The fever left him.

The categories of Object and Indirect Object in Maithili are not so readily identified as each carries the same markings and either category can appear in any position in the clause. Ambiguity in meaning can also result because of this fact, being further complicated by the fact that the Genitive is also marked in the same manner. Even though the Subject plus another category may be marked in the verb, this does not help in identification as the category with the person involved in it would be the one to attract the verb form, regardless of whether it were Object or Indirect Object. In certain instances it can be determined which is the Object and which the Indirect Object by the fact of the marker ke being obligatory on non-personal animate or inanimate objects, thus normally being classed as Indirect Object. However, this is not the case with animate, which is also obligatorily marked by ke when it is Object. Permutation of the slots within a clause can help in sorting out which is Genitive. Note the following examples which are given to indicate some of the ambiguities encountered.

i) o h6mra b6cca ke dekh/ul6k
she me to Gol baby Gol showed
She showed the baby to me.

o h6mra b6cca ke dekh/ul6k
she my baby Gol showed
She showed my baby.

ii) o 6pna p6hun ke pain del6in
he his guest Gol water gave
He gave water to his guest.

o 6pna p6hun ke pain del6in
he his guest of water gave
He gave his guest's water.

iii) o h6mra Ram ke dekh/ul6k
he me to Gol Ram Gol showed
He showed Ram to me.

o h6mra Ram ke dekh/ul6k
he me Gol Ram Gol showed
He showed me to Ram.

o h6mra Ram ke dekh/ul6k
he my Ram Gol showed
He showed my Ram.

1.33 New Information Focus.

When asking a set of questions in order to bring focus on a single role as new information it was found that in general the old information was deleted and only the new supplied. On asking for a complete sentence in reply the new information always took first place in the clause. On checking through text it seems to follow that new information is always found at the beginning of a clause. Some examples of questions and replies are given below.

What did Ram do yesterday?

dhan ropl6in
rice planted
Planted rice.

Who planted rice yesterday?

Ram
Ram.

When did Ram plant rice?

kailh
yesterday
Yesterday. (Normal reply)

kailh	Ram	dhan	ropl6in
yesterday	Ram	rice	planted

Yesterday Ram planted rice. (Expanded reply)

1.34 Clarification Focus.

In text it has been noticed that when talking about a particular topic a single clause may be given summarizing the preceding discussion. Within this clause the topic of the discussion is placed in final position, following the verb.

From a text discussing potters in the village this example is found.

os6b	chith	kumhar
they	are	potters

They are potters.

The following is found in a text discussing the reasons why an ancient method of irrigation is still being used in the village area.

ek6r	kar6n	/ich	arthikh	kar6n
its	reason	is	economic	reason

The reason is an economic one.

In conversation the following may be said in order to clarify when or where one is going.

h6m	j/i	chi	6kh6n
I	going	am	now

I am going now.

h6m	j/i	chi	gam	p6r
I	going	am	village	on

I am going to the village.

Another very common instance of putting an item after a verb is in the case of an afterthought. There is a phonological distinction in this case.

1.35 Contrastive Focus: Emphatic Affixes.

There appear to be two major emphatics in Maithili which are referred to in this paper as Inclusive and Exclusive. These emphatic affixes may occur with nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, and numerals. There are several other emphatic particles in Maithili but these are not included in this paper.

Inclusive Emphatic Affix. (The underlined portions are the emphatic affixes.)

a) With pronouns.

			Direct Pronouns	Oblique Pronouns
1st	p. sing.		h6mhu:	h6mro
2nd	p. sing.			
	hon.		6hu:	6hu:ke
	mid-hon.		tohu:	toro
	non-hon.		tohu:	toro
3rd	p. sing.			
	hon.	rem.	oho	hunko
		nr.	iho	hinko
	non-hon.	rem.	oho	okro
		nr.	iho	ekro
1st	p. pl.		h6mhu:s6b	h6mros6bke
2nd	p. pl.			
	hon.		6hu:s6b	6hu:s6bke
	mid-hon.		tohu:s6b	toros6bke
	non-hon.		tohu:s6b	toros6bke
3rd	p. pl.			
	hon.	rem.	ohos6b	hunkos6bke
		nr.	ihos6b	hinkos6bke
	non-hon.	rem.	ohos6b	okros6bke
		nr.	ihos6b	ekros6bke

The affix -o may be translated as 'even' or 'also'. It should be noted that where this emphatic is used with pronouns the form is not always -o.

h6mhu: jae6b
I also will go.

b) With nouns.

admi-o s6b oi Tham ch6l
men-also pl. that place were
Men were also at that place.

Syam b6r6d-o ke gh6r anl6k
Syam bullock-also Gol house brought
Syam brought the bullock also to the house.

duniy-o ke h6:si l6g/i ch6i
world-also Gol laughter sticking is
The world also is laughing.

h6mra ekTa n6mh6r kukur /ich /ur hunkos6bke n6mh6r kukur
me to one large dog is and they to also large dog

ch6in
is
I have a large dog and they also have a large dog.

c) With verbs.

o kh/it-o /ich
he eating-also is
He is eating also (as well as doing something else).

o j/it-o kal me kh/it r6h/iy6
he going-even time in eating remains
He eats even while going.

d) With adverbs.

ekhn-o t6k o n6i aelah
now-even up to he not came
Even up to now he has not come.

k6khn-o 6ha:ke h6m p6rh/it n6i dekh/i chi
when-even you I reading not seeing am
I did not see you reading at any time.

e) With numerals. The emphatic -o may be affixed to the numeral only, or to the numeral to which the classifier -Ta has been added.

eko / ekoTa	one
duio / duioTa	two
tino / tinoTa	three, etc.

iskul me ai ek-o admi n6i ael
school in today one-even person not came
Not even one person came to school today.

dui-o-Ta admi jaet t6 b6rhi:ya: r6h6t
two-even-cl men go will then good remain will
If even two men will go it will be good.

Exclusive Emphatic Affix. This emphatic affix -e excludes all else but the item focussed upon.

a) With nouns examples are given in the positions of Actor, Undergoer, and Site.

Syam-e aelah
Syam-only came
Only Syam came.

Jib Nath ch6g6r-e ke k6T16k
Jib Nath goat-only Gol cut
Jib Nath killed only the goat.

Kathmandu-e me jeT plen 6w/it /ich
Kathmandu-only in jet planes coming are
Only in Kathmandu do jet planes come.

b) With pronouns. The form -e is changed in some of the pronominal forms.

			Direct Pronouns	Oblique Pronouns
1st p. sing.			h6mhi:	h6mre
2nd p. sing.				
	hon.		6hi:	6hi:ke
	mid-hon.		to:hi:	tore
	non-hon.		to:hi:	tore
3rd p. sing.				
	hon.	rem.	wae	hunke
		nr.	yae	hinke
	non-hon.	rem.	wae	okre
		nr.	yae	ekre
1st p. pl.			h6mhi:s6b	h6mres6bke
2nd p. pl.				
	hon.		6hi:s6b	6hi:s6bke
	mid-hon.		to:hi:s6b	tores6bke
	non-hon.		to:hi:s6b	tores6bke
3rd p. pl.				
	hon.	rem.	waes6b	hunkes6bke
		nr.	yaes6b	hinkes6bke
	non-hon.	rem.	waes6b	okres6bke
		nr.	yaes6b	ekres6bke

h6mhi: ch6l/u: je kitab p6rhl/u:
I only was who book read
I was the only one who read the book.

h6m 6hi:ke khet me dekhl/u:
I you only field in saw
I saw only you in the field.

c) With verbs.

o j/it-e /ich
he going-only is
He is going (and not doing anything else).

o Dera ael-e ch6l ki ok6r babu ael6in
he home came-only was link his father came
He had only just arrived home when his father came.

d) With adverbs.

ekhn-e h6m j/i chi
now-only I going am
Right now I am going (exclusively at this time).

6i Tham jarh ekd6m-e n6i hoit ch6i
this place cold very-only not being is
This place is not extremely cold.

e) With numerals. The numerals may also be emphasized with -e, with or without the classifier -Ta.

eke / ekeTa	one
duie / duieTa	two
tine / tineTa	three, etc.

2. Systemic Contrasts.

The purpose of this section is to determine which of the cells shown in Figure 4 are filled by inherently contrastive clause patterns in Maithili. The contrasts will be discussed under two headings: 2.1 General Contrasts, which coincide with the features separating rows and columns in Figure 4, and, 2.2 Specific Contrasts, which show contrasts between individual cells, or certain groups of cells.

2.1 General Contrasts.

There are four general contrasts in the transitivity system. They will be discussed under the following headings: State vs Event, Actor vs no Actor, Undergoer vs no Undergoer, and Site vs no Site. In discussing these contrasts it will be helpful to refer to the following tree diagram of the transitivity system. Those clauses which are inherent in Maithili are underlined.

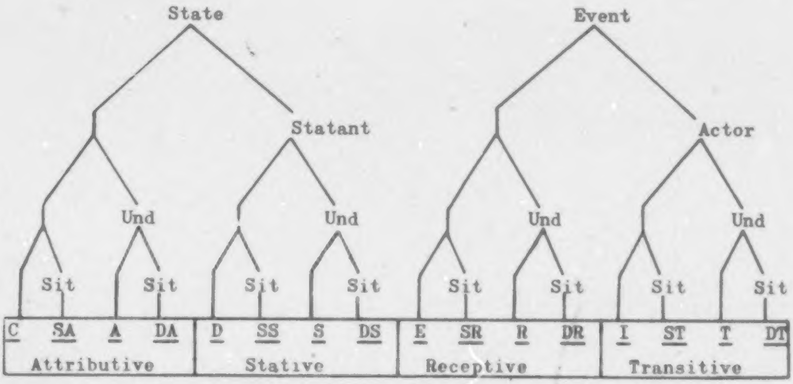

State
Event
Statant
Actor
Und
Und
Und
Und
Sit
Sit
Sit
Sit
Sit
Sit
Sit
Sit
C
SA
A
DA
D
SS
S
DS
E
SR
R
DR
I
ST
T
DT
Attributive
Stative
Receptive
Transitive

Figure 13. Tree Diagram of the Transitivity System.

State vs Event (Attributive Set vs Receptive & Transitive Sets)

General contrasts are listed below.

A Set	*R & T Sets*
1) + Simple Present Tense (-C)	1) – Simple Present Tense
2) + Simple Past Tense (-C)	2) – Simple Past Tense
3) + Change of verb to *hae6b* to form other Tense-Aspect combinations	3) – Change of verb to form other Tense-Aspect combinations
4) – Continuous Tenses without change of verb	4) + Continuous Tenses without change of verb
5) + Causativizer 1 (-C)	5) – Causativizer 1
6) – Stativization	6) + Stativization
7) + Eventivization	7) – Eventivization
8) – Manner slot	8) + Manner slot

State vs Event where no Actor is present (Attributive Set vs Receptive Set)

The eight contrasts listed above also apply here. The contrasts listed below apply only when contrasting the Attributive and Receptive sets.

A Set	*R Set*
1) – Causativizer 2	1) + Causativizer 2
2) – Causativizer 3	2) + Causativizer 3
3) + Causativizer 4	3) – Causativizer 4
4) – *gel* auxiliary	4) + *gel* auxiliary in Completive Aspect
5) – Benefactive slot	5) ± Benefactive slot

State vs Event (Attributive Set vs Transitive Set)

The first eight contrasts listed between State and Event also apply here. The following are specific contrasts between the Attributive and Transitive sets.

A Set	*T Set*
1) + Subject as Undergoer	1) – Subject as Undergoer
2) – Object as Undergoer	2) + Object as Undergoer
3) – DiReceptive Embedding	3) + DiReceptive Embedding
4) – Passive	4) ± Passive
5) – Instrument slot	5) ± Instrument slot
6) – Benefactive slot	6) + Benefactive slot
7) – Normal Imperative	7) + Normal Imperative

Actor vs No Actor (Transitive Set vs Receptive Set)

T Set	R Set
1) + Subject as Actor	1) – Subject as Actor (but + as Undergoer)
2) + Verb as an outward action	2) – Verb as an outward action (but + as an inward action)

Examples:

T h6m ghyu p6gh61/u: 'I melted the clarified butter.'
R ghyu p6gh/il gel 'The clarified butter melted.'

T Set	R Set
3) + Object as Undergoer	3) – Object as Undergoer
4) – Causativizer 2	4) + Causativizer 2
5) – Causativizer 3	5) + Causativizer 3
6) + Causativizer 4	6) – Causativizer 4
7) – Double Causative	7) + Double Causative
8) ± Passive	8) – Passive
9) + DiReceptive Embedding	9) – DiReceptive Embedding
10) – gel auxiliary in Completive Aspect	10) + gel auxiliary in Completive Aspect
11) + Instrument slot	11) – Instrument slot
12) + Normal Imperative	12) – Normal Imperative

Undergoer vs No Undergoer

1) Undergoer is present in	1) Undergoer is not present in
DT T DR R DA A	ST I SR E SA C

Undergoer vs No Undergoer in plus-Actor sets only.

+ Undergoer DT T	– Undergoer ST I
1) + Transitive verb endings	1) – Transitive verb endings, but plus Intransitive verb endings
2) – Causativizer 3	2) + Causativizer 3
3) + Causativizer 4	3) – Causativizer 4
4) – Double Causative	4) + Double Causative
5) + Instrument slot	5) – Instrument slot
6) + Passive	6) – Passive
7) + Perfect Aspect marker -ne	7) – Perfect Aspect marker -ne, but plus Completive Aspect marker -61

Undergoer vs No Undergoer in no-Actor sets only.

+ Undergoer DR R DA A	– Undergoer SR E SA C

1) ± Third person endings only	1) + Third person endings only
2) ± Benefactive slot	2) – Benefactive slot
3) ± Causativizer 2	3) – Causativizer 2

Site vs No Site

1) Site is present in DT ST DR SR DA SA	1) Site is not present in T I R E A C
2) Site is Subject in SR and SA	2) ——

Site vs No Site in no-Actor sets only

+ Site DR SR DA SA	– Site R E A C
1) + Third person endings only	1) ± Third person endings only

2.2 Specific Contrasts.

The contrasts listed below do not coincide with those separating whole rows or columns, but rather contrast individual cells with one another, or may contrast a certain group of cells with another group.

Number of nuclear roles.

one role: A SA R ST I
two roles: DA DR SR T
three roles: DT

Animate Undergoer marked as Goal.

yes DT T
no DR R DA A (no Undergoer ST I SR E SA C)

Animate Undergoer unmarked.

yes R DA A
no DT T DR (no Undergoer ST I SR E SA C)

Inanimate Undergoer only.

yes DR
no DT T R DA A (no Undergoer ST I SR E SA C)

Object as Undergoer.

yes DT T
no DR R DA A (no Undergoer ST I SR E SA C)

Referent as Site (IO).

yes DT ST DR DA SR SA
no (no Site T I R E A C)

Referent as Site (Loc).

yes DT ST DA SA
no DR SR (no Site T I R E A C)

Normal Imperative

yes DT T ST I
no DR R SR E DA A C

Undergoer has verb agreement.

yes A R DT T
no DR DA (no Undergoer ST I SR E SA C)

Clauses can be passivized without first undergoing a derivation rule.

yes DT T
no ST I DR R SR E DA A SA C

Completive Aspect adds auxiliary *gel* 'went'.

yes DR R SR E
no DT T ST I DA A SA C

Causative formed by adding *k6r6b* 'to do'.

yes DA A SA
no DT T ST I DR R SR E C

Causative formed by vowel length.

yes DR R
no DT T ST I SR E DA A SA C

Causative formed by suffix -*/u* without first undergoing a derivation rule.

yes DT T ST I DR R SR E
no DA A SA C

Double causative formed by -*b/u*.

yes ST T DR R SR E
no DT T DA A SA C

Verbal suffix -*/u* adds:

Actor DR R SR E
Undergoer ST I
Site (IO) T

Clauses may take Simple Present and Simple Past Tenses.

yes DA A SA
no DT T ST I DR R SR E C

Clauses use Transitive verb endings.

yes	DT	T								
no	ST	I	DR	R	SR	E	DA	A	SA	C

Clauses use -ne Perfect Aspect marker.

yes	DT	T								
no	ST	I	DR	R	SR	E	DA	A	SA	C

Possible Instrument slot.

yes	DT	T								
no	ST	I	DR	R	SR	E	DA	A	SA	C

Possible Benefactive slot.

yes	DT	T	ST	I	DR	R
no	SR	E	DA	A	SA	C

DiReceptive Embedding.

yes	DT	T	ST	I				
no	DR	R	SR	E	DA	A	SA	C

3. Contrastive Types.

The contrastive clause patterns are illustrated below with a formula for each clause pattern. Several of these clause patterns have been divided into subsets and a formula is also given for each of these subsets. In some cases the subsets are formed on the basis of their derivation patterns, which may be seen in the appropriate tree diagrams under Section D., Derived Patterns. In this case the formulae do not necessarily differ.

3.1 DiTransitive Clause Pattern.

a) With Locative Site.

$$+ \begin{array}{l|l} \text{S} & \text{NP (Umk)} \\ \hline \text{Act} & \text{an} \end{array} \quad + \begin{array}{l|l} \text{REF} & \text{NP(Loc)} \\ \hline \text{Sit} & \text{inan} \end{array} \quad + \begin{array}{l|l} \text{O} & \text{NP(}\pm\text{Gol)} \\ \hline \text{Und} & \text{an/inan} \end{array} \quad + \begin{array}{l|l} \text{P} & \text{VP} \\ \hline \text{Evt} & \text{DT} \end{array}$$

o	tòrkari	me	m6sala	de-l-6k
she Umk	vegetables	in Loc	spices Umk	gave-Cmp-3nh
Act	Sit		Und	Evt

She put spices in the vegetables.

o	pusTkale	me	kitab	pr6dan	κe-l-6in
he Umk	library	in Loc	books Umk	donate	did-Cmp-3h+3nh
Act	Sit		Und	Evt	

He donated books to the library.

h6m6r	babu	h6mra	b6hin	ke	s6ndes	p6Th-/u-l-6in
my	father Umk	my	sister	Gol	gift Umk	sent-Cv4-Cmp-3h+3nh
Act		Sit			Und	Evt

My father sent my sister a gift.

o	h6mra	kitab	dekh-/u-l-tin
he Umk	me to Gol	book Umk	see-Cv4-Cmp-3h+1st
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

He showed me the book.

3.2 Transitive Clause Pattern.

a)

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	O	NP(±Gol)	+	P	VP
	Act	an/inan		Und	an/inan		Evt	T

h6m	h6lla	sun-l-/u:
I Umk	noise Umk	heard-Cmp-1st
Act	Und	Evt

I heard the noise.

o	kebar	b6nd	ke-l-6in
he Umk	door Umk	close PEx	did-Cmp-3h+3nh
Act	Und	Evt	

He closed the door.

o	hunka	s6haeta	ke-l-k6in
he Umk	him Gol	help PEx	did-Cmp-3h+3h
Act	Und	Evt	

He helped him.

h6m	oi	bat	ke	bujh-l-/u:
I Umk	that	matter	Gol	understood-Cmp-1st
Act	Und			Evt

I understood that.

h6m6r	mitr	kukur	ke	mar-l-6k
my	friend Umk	dog	Gol	hit-Cmp-3nh
Act		Und		Evt

My friend hit the dog.

c6kku	m/u:s	k6T-l-6k
knife Umk	meat Umk	cut-Cmp-3nh
Act	Und	Evt

The knife cut the meat.

Ram	Gopal	ke	gh6r	1)	gel
Ram Umk	Gopal	Gol	house Loc	took	went-Cmp-3nh
Act	Und		Sit	Evt	

Ram took Gopal to the house.

o	b6cca	ke	Tokri	me	r6kh-1-6k
she Umk	baby	Gol	basket	in Loc	put-Cmp-3nh
Act	Und		Sit		Evt

She put the baby in the basket.

h6m	pain	me	k6pra	duma-1-/u:
I Umk	water	in Loc	clothes Umk	submerged-Cmp-1st
Act	Sit		Und	Evt

I submerged the clothes in water.

o	h6mra	p6r	kitab	phekh-1-6in
he Umk	me	on Loc	book Umk	threw-Cmp-3h+3nh
Act	Sit		Und	Evt

He threw the book at me.

b) With Goal Site.

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	REF	(Gol) NP(Loc)	+	O	NP(±Gol)	+	P	VP
	Act	an		Sit(IO)	an		Und	an/inan		Evt	DT

o	b6cca	ke	okra	mae	16g	de-1-6k
he Umk	baby	Gol	his	mother	near Loc	gave-Cmp-3nh
Act	Und		Sit			Evt

He gave the baby to his mother.

h6m6r	mitr	h6mra	ciTThi	likh-1-6in
my	friend Umk	me to Gol	letter Umk	wrote-Cmp-3h+1st
Act		Sit	Und	Evt

My friend wrote me a letter.

6ha:s6b	h6mra	Maithili	p6rh-/u-1-/u:
you pl. Umk	me to Gol	Maithili Umk	teach-Cv4-Cmp-2h
Act	Sit	Und	Evt

You taught me Maithili.

os6b	h6mra	ekTa	pr6sn6	puc-1-6in
they Umk	me to Gol	one	question Umk	asked-Cmp-3h+1st
Act	Sit	Und		Evt

They asked me a question.

ek	admi	6pna	beTa	ke	khissa	k6h-61-6k
one	man Umk	his	son	Gol	story Umk	told-Cmp-3nh
Act		Sit			Und	Evt

A man told his son a story.

b) Derives to DiTransitive clause pattern.

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	O	NP(±Gol)	+	P	VP
	Act	an		Und	an/inan		Evt	T

Ram Deb	bhat	khe-l-6k
Ram Deb Umk	rice Umk	ate-Cmp-3nh
Act	Und	Evt

Ram Deb ate the rice.

Ram	Sita ke	dekh-l-6in
Ram Umk	Sita Gol	saw-Cmp-3h+3h
Act	Und	Evt

Ram saw Sita.

o	s6b6k	sikh-l-6k
he Umk	lesson Umk	learnt-Cmp-3nh
Act	Und	Evt

He learnt the lesson.

h6m	kitab	p6rh-l-/u:
I Umk	book Umk	read-Cmp-1st
Act	Und	Evt

I read the book.

3.3 Semi Transitive Clause Pattern.

a)

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	REF	NP(Loc)	+	P	VP
	Act	an		Sit	inan		Evt	ST

o	gh6r me	p/is-l-ah
he Umk	house in Loc	entered-Cmp-3h
Act	Sit	Evt

He entered the house.

h6m	Janakpur	ge-l-/u:
I Umk	Janakpur Loc	went-Cmp-1st
Act	Sit	Evt

I went to Janakpur.

oi Tham	kechuwa	p)hu:c-6l
that place Loc	tortoise Umk	reached-Cmp-3nh
Sit	Act	Evt

The tortoise reached that place.

b6cca	h6mra 16g	ae-l
baby Umk	me to near Loc	came-Cmp-3nh
Act	Sit	Evt

The baby came to me.

o	bah6r	d/ur-61
he Umk	outside Loc	ran-Cmp-3nh
Act	Sit	Evt

He ran outside.

Ram Deb	g6ri me	b/is-l-ah
Ram Deb	car in Loc	sat-Cmp-3h
Act	Sit	Evt

Ram Deb sat in the car.

b)

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	REF	NP(Gol)	+	P	VP
	Act	an		Sit(IO)	an		Evt	ST

o	h6mra	dekhai p6r-61
that Umk	me to Gol	appear fell-Cmp-3nh
Act	Sit	Evt

That (thing) appeared to me.

3.4 Intransitive Clause Pattern.

a)

+	S	NP(Umk)	+	P	VP
	Act	an		Evt	I

kukur	bhuk-61
dög Umk	barked-Cmp-3nh
Act	Evt

The dog barked.

o	sut-l-ah
he Umk	slept-Cmp-3h
Act	Evt

He slept.

b6cca	chi:k-l-6k
baby Umk	sneezed-Cmp-3nh
Act	Evt

The baby sneezed.

cir6i ur-6l
bird Umk flew-Cmp-3nh
Act Evt
The bird flew.

h6m h6:s-l-/u:
I Umk laughed-Cmp-1st
Act Evt
I laughed.

o jag-6l
he Umk awoke-Cmp-3nh
Act Evt
He woke up.

b) Derives as a Transitive clause.

$$+\ \frac{S \mid NP(Umk)}{Act \mid an/inan}\ +\ \frac{P \mid VP}{Evt \mid I}$$

o kaj k3-l-6k
he Umk work PEx did-Cmp-3nh
Act Evt
He worked.

Ram haphi ke-l-6k
Ram Umk yawn PEx did-Cmp-3nh
Act Evt
Ram yawned.

h6m kurra ke-l-/u:
I Umk gargle PEx did-Cmp-1st
Act Evt
I gargled.

murga kukruku ke-l-6k
rooster Umk crow PEx did-Cmp-3nh
Act Evt
The rooster crowed.

hunka hrid6y dh6k dh6k ke-l-6k
his heart Umk beat PEx did-Cmp-3nh
Act Evt
His heart was beating.

o h6k h6k ke-l-6k
he Umk pant PEx did-Cmp-3nh
Act Evt
He panted.

3.5 DiReceptive Clause Pattern.

a)

```
+ S   ¦ NP(Umk)    + REF     ¦ NP(Gol)    + P   ¦ VP
  ----+--------      --------+--------      ----+---
  Und ¦ inan         Sit(IO) ¦ an           Evt ¦ DR
```

```
ekTa ciTThi       Pradhan Panc  ke   p)hu:c-1-6in
one  letter Umk   Pradhan Panch Gol  reached-Cmp-3nh+3h
Und               Sit                Evt
A letter reached the Pradhan Panch.

bhoj6n    h6mra       b6rhi:ya: laig  ge-1[1]
meal Umk  me to Gol   good PEx  stuck went-Cmp-3nh
Und       Sit         Evt
The meal tasted good to me.

okra         bokhar     chuit   ge-1-6i
him to Gol   fever Umk  release went-Cmp-3nh
Sit          Und        Evt
The fever left him.
```

b) Causative derivation differs.

```
                                    (Gol)
+ S   ¦ NP(Umk)    + REF     ¦ NP(Sce)    + P   ¦ VP
  ----+--------      --------+--------      ----+---
  Und ¦ inan         Sit(IO) ¦ an/inan      Evt ¦ DR
```

```
o    bijhael ka:Te    h6mra       g/ir  ge-1
that rusty   nail Umk me to Gol   stuck went-Cmp-3nh
Und                   Sit         Evt
That rusty nail stuck in me.

gulab-6k ka:T       h6mra pyaer s6         nik/il   ge-1
rose-of  thorn Umk  my    foot  from Sce   came out went-Cmp-3nh
Und                 Sit                    Evt
The rose thorn came out of my foot.
```

3.6 Receptive Clause Pattern.

The following subsets are divided according to their derivation patterns, which may be seen under Section D. The gel auxiliary is a distinctive feature of inherent Receptive clauses. Those clauses derived into the Receptive row use bh) gel 'becoming went'.

a)

$$+\ \frac{S \mid NP(Umk)}{Und \mid an/inan}\ +\ \frac{P \mid VP}{Evt \mid R}$$

Jibach m/ir ge-l
Jibach Umk died went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
Jibach died.

6nat p/il ge-l
orphan Umk reared went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The orphan was reared.

s6lai b/ir ge-l
match Umk lit went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The match lit.

b)

$$+\ \frac{S \mid NP(Umk)}{Und \mid an/inan}\ +\ \frac{P \mid VP}{Evt \mid R}$$

ghyu p6gh/il ge-l
clarified butter Umk melt went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The clarified butter melted.

gach suikh ge-l
tree Umk withered went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The tree withered.

cini g/il ge-l
sugar Umk dissolved went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The sugar dissolved.

am s/ir ge-l
mango Umk rotted went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The mango rotted.

o b/irh ge-l
he Umk grew went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
He grew.

c)

$$+\ \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{Und} \mid \text{an/inan}}\quad +\ \frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{Evt} \mid \text{R}}$$

k6pra ghok/ic ge-l
cloth Umk shrank went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The cloth shrank.

a:ch dh6dh/ik ge-l
fire Umk flared up went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The fire flared up.

o chuit ge-l
he Umk released went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
He was released.

o chiT/ik ge-l
that Umk separated went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
That separated.

pain chuib ge-l
water Umk leaked went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The water leaked.

o 161/ic ge-l
he Umk tempted went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
He got tempted.

d)

$$+\ \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{NP(Umk)}}{\text{Und} \mid \text{inan}}\quad +\ \frac{\text{P} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{Evt} \mid \text{R}}$$

Tala TuiT ge-l
lock Umk broke went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The lock broke.

b6rt6n phuiT ge-l
pot Umk broke went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The pot broke.

k6pra sikuir ge-l
cloth Umk shrank went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The cloth shrank.

3.7 SemiReceptive Clause Pattern.

a)

+ S ¦ NP(Gol) + P ¦ VP
Sit(IO) ¦ an Evt ¦ SR

Ram ke bokhar laig ge-l
Ram Gol fever PEx stuck went-Cmp-3nh
Sit Evt
Ram got a fever.

h6mra coT laig ge-l
me to Gol injury PEx stuck went-Cmp-3nh
Sit Evt
I got injured.

h6mra mon p/ir ge-l
me to Gol mind PEx fell went-Cmp-3nh
Sit Evt
It slipped my mind.

h6mra murcha laig ge-l
me to Gol faint PEx stuck went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
I fainted.

okra bhut laig gel
him to Gol spirit PEx stuck went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
He got spirit possessed.

k6pra ke t6h laig ge-l
cloth Gol pile PEx stuck went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The cloth piled up.

3.8 Eventive Clause Pattern.

+ P ¦ VP
Evt ¦ E

b6rs-61
rained-Cmp-3nh
Evt
It rained.

pain p6r-61
water PEx fell-Cmp-3nh
Evt
It rained.

hawa b6h-61
wind PEx blew-Cmp-3nh
Evt
It got windy.

3.9 DiAttributive Clause Pattern.

a)

S	NP(Umk)	+	REF	NP(Loc)	+	P	VP
Und	an/inan		Sit	inan		Sta	DA

Janakpur Nepal me /ich
Janakpur Umk Nepal in Loc is-Pr-3nh
Und Sit Sta
Janakpur is in Nepal.

b6rt6n me bhur /ich
pot in Loc hole Umk is-Pr-3nh
Sit Und Sta
There is a hole in the pot.

o oi gh6r me /ich
she Umk that house in Loc is-Pr-3nh
Und Sit Sta
She is in that house.

h6mras6bke gh6r s6mudr kinar me 6i
our house Umk ocean shore in Loc is-Pr-3nh
Und Sit Sta
Our house is by the seashore.

6i Tham jarh ekd6m-e n6i hoit ch6i
this place Loc cold extreme-emph Umk not is-PrI-3nh
Sit Und Sta
Here it is not extremely cold.

o bhoj me 6nek pr6kar ke b6sTu hoit /ich
that feast in Loc types different of things Umk are-PrI-3nh
Sit Und Sta
There are different types of things in that feast.

6i upnaen me m/u:s hoi-y6
this upnan in Loc meat Umk is-PrI-3nh
Sit Und Sta
There is meat in the Upnan (festival for giving sacred thread to Brahmin boys).

b)

	REF	NP(Gol)		S	NP(Umk)		P	VP
+	Sit(IO)	an	+	Und	an/inan	+	Sta	DA

h6mra pa:cTa beTa /ich
me to Gol five sons Umk are-Pr-3nh
Sit Und Sta
I have five sons.

bh6r6t des-6k hathi ke choT kan hoit /ich
India country-of elephant Gol small ears Umk are-PrI-3nh
Sit Und Sta
Indian elephants have small ears.

cir6is6b ke p6i:kh /ich
bird pl. Gol wings Umk are-Pr-3nh
Sit Und Sta
Birds have wings.

6ha:ke b6hut debta /ich
you to Gol many gods Umk are-Pr-3nh
Sit Und Sta
You have many gods.

h6mra ekTa n6mhar kukur /ich
me to Gol one big dog Umk is-Pr-3nh
Sit Und Sta
I have a big dog.

okra ekTa gend /ich
him to Gol one ball Umk is-Pr-3nh
Sit Und Sta
He has a ball.

h6mras6bke n6i d6mk6l /ich
us to Gol no pumping set Umk is-Pr-3nh
Sit Und Sta
We have no pumping set.

3.10 Attributive Clause Pattern.

a)

	S	NP(Umk)		CPL	AdjP AdvP		P	VP
+	Und	an/inan	+	PEx		+	Sta	A

o	choT	/ich
she Umk	short PEx	is-Pr-3nh
Und	Sta	

She is short.

o phul	sund6r	/ich
that flower Umk	beautiful PEx	is-Pr-3nh
Und	Sta	

That flower is beautiful.

Ram Deb	bimar	6i
Ram Deb Umk	sick PEx	is-Pr-3nh
Und	Sta	

Ram Deb is sick.

kechuwa	b6hut p6cha	/ich
tortoise Umk	very behind PEx	is-Pr-3nh
Und	Sta	

The tortoise is a long way behind.

kh6n6	b6hut s6st	ch6i
food Umk	very cheap PEx	is-Pr-3nh
Und	Sta	

Food is very cheap.

h6ms6b	b6hut g6rib	chi
we Umk	very poor PEx	are-Pr-1st
Und	Sta	

We are very poor.

bramh6n-6k bhoj	pr6sidh	/ich
Brahmin-of feast Umk	famous PEx	is-Pr-3nh
Und	Sta	

The Brahmins' feast is famous.

b)

	S	NP(Umk)		CPL	NP		P	VP
+	Und	an/inan	+	PEx	an/inan	+	Sta	A

hunkas6b-6k mae b6rhi:ya: istr6g6n ch6-thin
their-of mother Umk good woman PEx is-Pr-3h+3h
Und Sta
Their mother is a good woman.

os6b kumhar ch/ith
they Umk potters PEx are-Pr-3h
Und Sta
They are potters.

o b6rhi:ya: s6m6car /ich
that Umk good news PEx is-Pr-3nh
Und Sta
That is good news.

ek6r kar6n /ich arthikh kar6n
its reason Umk is-Pr-3nh economic reason PEx
Und Sta
Its reason is an economic reason.

kh6rheya b6hut tej c616b616 /ich
rabbit Umk very fast runner PEx is-Pr-3nh
Und Sta
The rabbit is a very fast runner.

o g6lti /ich
that Umk mistake PEx is-Pr-3nh
Und Sta
That is a mistake.

h6m admi chi
I Umk man PEx am-Pr-1st
Und Sta
I am a man.

c)

+ S ⁝ NP(Umk) + P ⁝ VP
Und ⁝ an/inan Evt ⁝ A

h6m6r babu ch/ith
my father Umk is-Pr-3h
Und Sta
I have a father. (Lit. 'My father exists')

dukh /ich
trouble Umk is-Pr-3nh
Und Sta
There is trouble. (Lit. 'Trouble exists')

dh6luwa j6min	ch6i
sloping land Umk	is-Pr-3nh
Und	Sta

There is sloping land.

kono t6rh-6k t6kliph	n6i	hoi-y6
any kind-of difficulty Umk	not	is-PrI-3nh
Und	Sta	

There is no kind of difficulty.

phuls6b	/ich
flower-pl. Umk	are-Pr-3nh
Und	Sta

There are flowers.

isw6r	ch/ith
God Umk	is-Pr-3h
Und	Sta

God is.

3.11 SemiAttributive Clause Pattern.

a)

+	S	NP(Loc)	+	P	VP
	Sit	inan		Sta	SA

gh6r	me	6nhar	/ich
house	in Loc	dark PEx	is-Pr-3nh
Sit		Sta	

It is dark in the house.

Janakpur	me	g6r6m	/ich
Janakpur	in Loc	hot PEx	is-Pr-3nh
Sit		Sta	

It is hot in Janakpur.

p6har	me	jarh	/ich
mountains	in Loc	cold PEx	is-Pr-3nh
Sit		Sta	

It is cold in the mountains.

pain	me	bulbula	hoit /ich
water	in Loc	bubbles PEx	are-PrI-3nh
Sit		Sta	

The water is bubbling. (Lit. 'It is bubbling in the water') b)

+	REF	NP(Gol)	+	P	VP
	Sit(IO)	an		Sta	SA

h6mra	6ber	hoi-y6
me to Gol	late PEx	is-PrI-3nh
Sit	Sta	

I am late.

h6mra	hicki	hoit /ich
me to Gol	hiccup PEx	is-PrI-3nh
Sit	Sta	

I am hiccuping.

h6mra	aram	hoit / ich
me to Gol	rest PEx	is-PrI-3nh
Sit	Sta	

I am resting.

pan	ke	6mm61	hoit /ich
betel	Gol	addiction PEx	is-PrI-3nh
Sit		Sta	

I am addicted to betel.

h6mra	bil6mb	hoit /ich
me to Gol	delay PEx	is-PrI-3nh
Sit	Sta	

I am delaying.

3.12 Circumstantial Clause Pattern.

+	P	VP
	Sta	C

b6rsa	hoit /ich
rain PEx	is-PrI-3nh
Sta	

It is raining.

megh	baj/it	/ich
cloud PEx	speaking	is-PrI-3nh
Sta		

It is thundering.

bijuli c6mk/it /ich
lightning PEx flashing is-PrI-3nh
Sta
Lightning is flashing. (Lit. 'It is lightning flashing')

Th6nkk ki6s/it /ich
thunder bolt PEx falling is-PrI-3nh
Sta
It is thundering. (Lit. 'It is thunder bolt falling')

pr6ti dhw6nit hoit /ich
echo PEx is-PrI-3nh
Sta
It is echoing.

C. Inflected Patterns.

Verb inflection in Maithili will be dealt with under the headings of Mood, Person, Honorifics, Number, Gender, Voice, Tense-Aspect and Modality. Prior to discussing these categories a brief description will be given of the verb phrase surface structure.

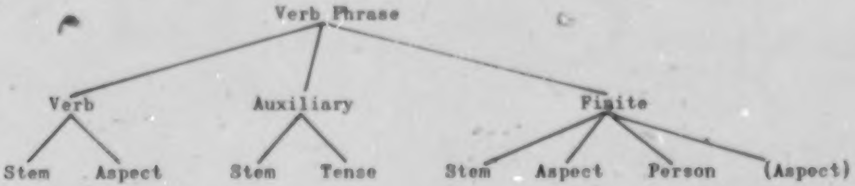


Figure 14. Verb Phrase Surface Structure.

The obligatory constituents of the verb phrase where an auxiliary is incorporated are: 1) the verb stem plus an aspect affix, and 2) the stem of the auxiliary verb plus tense and person affixes of the appropriate honorific form or combination of forms.

The finite verb has a verb stem, an aspect marker, person markers of the appropriate honorific form or combination of forms, and in the case of the Recent Completive Aspect there is a second aspect suffix.

1. Mood.

Mood is concerned with whether information is imparted or requested, whether an order is given, or a blessing or curse pronounced. The moods expressed in Maithili are as follows: Declarative, Interrogative, Imperative, Hortative, and Optative.

1.1 Declarative.

This is the basic mood in which information is imparted. It is unnecessary to exemplify this mood here as all examples given in this paper, apart from those in the other moods mentioned above, are normally in the declarative mood.

1.2 Interrogative.

There are several types of questions used in Maithili and these will be discussed under the headings given below.

Alternative Questions. These are the questions which require a yes or no answer. Other information may be given, but is not necessarily required. There are three methods of asking such questions in Maithili, which will be illustrated below.

The first method employs the interrogative marker *ki*, as follows:

ki o 6ha:ke kitab del6in
Did he give you the book?

ki 6ha: h6mra s6ngge Janakpur ja:6b
Will you go with me to Janakpur?

ki h6m i p/irh s6k/i chi
Can I read this?

ki 6ha:ke caur /ich
Is it your rice?

The second method is by using intonation only. Questions employing the interrogative marker *ki* have a falling intonation on the final syllable, whereas clauses using only intonation to indicate a question would have a rising intonation on the final syllable. The examples given above may be used in this form also, as could any other such question.

o 6ha:ke kitab del6in
Did he give you the book?

h6m i p/irh s6k/i chi
Can I read this?

The third method of asking for a yes or no answer is by adding the words *ki n6i* 'or not' to the clause. It has an extremely frequent usage.

o aelah *ki* *n6i*
Did he come or not?

6ha: larka ke marl/u: *ki* *n6i*
Did you hit the boy or not?

o gh6r me p/islah *ki* *n6i*
Did he enter the house or not?

Content Questions. These questions require information to be imparted by the one being questioned and employ such question words as "who, what, why, when, where", etc.

6ha: i b/ig k6ta s6 6n6ne ch6l/u:
From where have you brought this bag?

6ha: *k6thilae* o k) r6h61 chi
Why are you doing that?

k6ta j/i chi
Where are you going?

o *ke* ch/ith
Who is he?

Rhetorical Questions. These are questions which do not require an answer. If an answer is supplied, it will be given by the one who asked the question. Further analysis needs to be done on this type of question, but some examples are given below.

h6m 6p6n pen *k6ta* r6khl/u:
Where did I put my pen? (It must be here somewhere)

h6m i ciTThi *kena* s6mapt k6r6b
How do I finish this letter? (I'm at a loss to know what to put)

h6m b6rsa me Janakpur *kena* ja s6k6b
How can I go to Janakpur in the rain? (I will get drenched)

1.3 *Imperative.*

This is the mood in which a command is given. The imperative, hortative, and optative are closely related. It is interesting to note that in the imperative mood the verb agrees with the Subject only and takes no other case into consideration. The constructions are usually very short. Second person only is possible in this mood. Apart from the three second person honorific forms, there is a very respectful form which would be used for older relatives visiting from other villages, older members of other Brahmin families, or persons in high positions of authority. The following are a few examples of this form, which uses the verbal noun III combined with the imperative of *jae6b* 'to go'.

Transitive

khael	jae	'Please do eat'
dekh61	jae	'Please be so good as to look'

Intransitive

b/is6l	jae	'Please do sit down'
sut6l	jae	'Please do sleep'

The verb jae6b 'to go' may also be employed optionally with the other forms of the imperative, but is combined with the stem of the main verb.

Transitive

2nd person	hon.	dekh	jau	'Please see'
	mid-hon.	dekh	j6h	'Please see'
	non-hon.	dekh	j/u	'Please see'

Intransitive

2nd person	hon.	b/is	jau	'Please be seated'
	mid-hon.	b/is	j6h	'Please be seated'
	non-hon.	b/is	j/u	'Please be seated'

The more common usage is as follows:

Transitive

2nd person	hon.	dekhu	'Please see'
	mid-hon.	dekh6h	'Please see'
	non-hon.	dekh	'Please see'

Intransitive

2nd person	hon.	b/isu	'Please sit'
	mid-hon.	b/is6h	'Please sit'
	non-hon.	b/is	'Please sit'

When the verb jae6b 'to go' in the imperative is combined with verbal noun I, it results in the following. The appropriate honorific forms also may be used.

dekh6	jau	'Please go to see'
sut6	jau	'Please go to sleep'

Another form of the imperative which is in very common usage is that of the Permissive. It is formed by suffixing -e to the stem of the main verb and adding the appropriate form of daeb 'to give'. Combined forms of person markers may be used. These may be seen in Figure 15 and examples following.

6ha: h6mra khae dia
You (2h) let me eat!

Other / Subject		3rd person	
		hon.	non-hon.
2nd person			
hon.	di6	diy/un	diy/u
mid-hon.	d6	d6ho	d6ho
non-hon.	de	dohu:n	d6hi

Figure 15. Combinations of Personal Terminations in Permissive Imperative.

6ha: okra khae diy/u
You (2h) let him (3nh) eat!

to: hunka khae dohu:n
You (2nh) let him (3h) eat!

A limited usage of tense is also possible in the Permissive imperative but not in the normal imperative.

1.4 Hortative.

A most common term is that of c6lu 'let's go'. It is possible to use this with many verbs.

sut6 c6lu	'Let's go to sleep'
khel6 c6lu	'Let's go to play'

A more common form of the hortative, however, is formed with the verb stem plus the suffix -i. Note the following examples.

haejak 6nmul6n6k lel ekTa upae iho /ich je b6jar6k b6sTu n6i kha-i

For the eradication of cholera one method is also that we should not eat produce from the market.

b6hut kal s6 6pnas6b g6pp k) r6h6l chi thari dhael /ich ab kha-i

We have been talking for a long time, the plate is served, now we should eat.

6pnas6b Tharh/i chi os6b b/is6l /ich 6pnos6b ab b/is-i
We are standing, they are sitting, now we also should sit.

s6h6r me dhug6tna s6 b6cbak lel s6r6k kat d6ne cal-i
To be saved from accidents in town we should move to the side of

the road.

1.5 Optative.

The markings for the optative are different again from those of the imperative and hortative. It is here that blessings and curses may be expressed. More analysis needs to be done on this section.

Other Subject	No other	3rd person non-hon.
2nd person		
hon.	hou	h/u
non-hon.	ho	
3rd person		
hon.	h/uth	houn
non-hon.	ho	hou

Figure 16. Combinations of Personal Terminations in Optative with haeb 'to be'.

Examples:

raja dhrig/iyu h/uth
May the king (3h) live long.

iswar 6ha:ke 6siwad d/uth
May God (3h) bless you.

hunk6r nam pr6sidh houn
May his (3h) name (3nh) be famous.

bhagwan hunka jib6n bh/ir chichiaw/uth
May God (3h) make him a nomad for his whole life.

2. Person

The personal terminations constitute a focus system and are dealt with more fully under Section B. 1.3. When only one case is marked for person in the verb the agreement is with the Subject. However, the personal terminations may agree with the Subject as well as some other case in the clause. A matrix is given under the Focus Marker System, Figure 12, showing the possible combinations. The agreement is not necessarily very direct, but can even agree with the possessive pronoun of a phrase, as can be seen from the following example.

m6ikrophon ke h6m hunk6r dis 16ga de-l-i-6in
microphone Gol I his(3h) direction stuck gave-Cmp-1st-3h
Und Act Sit Evt
I pointed the microphone towards him. (Lit. 'I pointed the microphone his direction.')

The personal terminations, where the concord is with the Subject only, will be illustrated under point 7, Tense-Aspect System, in this section.

3. Honorifics. Maithili has a very highly developed honorific system, which has already been spoken about in Section B. 1.3. It will be illustrated further in this section under Tense-Aspect System. However, some comments are in order at this point.

It has been mentioned that third person honorific is the highest honorific form. It would be anticipated that the second person honorific would therefore follow as next in the ranking, however this is not the case. It will be noted that first person and second person honorific take the same person marker suffix in the verb, and as first person is never considered honorific this has the effect of placing second person honorific last in the ranking. The verb agrees with second person honorific only when it falls in the Subject position, or when it occurs alone in the Object position and is being focussed upon. It is never focussed upon when it occurs as a possessive pronoun, as is the case with the other honorific forms. Note the following examples.

i hunk6r kukur ch6in
this his(3h) dog is-3h
This is his dog.

i ok6r kukur ch6i
this his(3nh) dog is-3nh
This is his dog.

i toh6r kukur ch/u
this your(2mh) dog is-2mh
This is your dog.

i toh6r kukur che
this your(2nh) dog is-2nh
This is your dog.

i 6ha:ke kukur 6i
this(3nh) your(2h) dog is-3nh
This is your dog.

i h6m6r kukur 6i
this(3nh) my dog is-3nh
This is my dog.

It has been noted that there are three second person honorific forms. An explanation of the usage of these is necessary. It will be remembered that the Maithili represented in this paper is that spoken by the members of the Brahmin caste in the village of Ghorghas, Dhanusha District, Janakpur Zone, Nepal. In this particular village there is a restricted usage of the second person mid-honorific form. It is used when a Brahmin is speaking to one who is of a lower caste, but is senior in age. In other villages it is also in common usage among the members of a Brahmin family, however this is not the case in the village of Ghorghas. The second person highest honorific form is used when addressing older members within the family circle or within the Brahmin caste, or anyone in a position of authority, and the non-honorific second person form is used when addressing younger members of the family, Brahmin caste, or lower castes.

The language of the lower caste people is known as Dahati and is not under consideration in this paper, however, it is interesting to note that people of the lower castes use the second person highest honorific form when addressing a member of the Brahmin caste, those in authority and foreigners. Within the lower castes they use the second person mid-honorific as their form of respect, and the non-honorific form among equals or juniors.

4. Number. There is no distinction between singular and plural in the Maithili verb phrase. The verb changes only for first, second, and third persons without regard for whether or not there is singular or plural. Examples are given in the Completive Aspect with the person markers agreeing with the Subject only.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	h6m kukur ke marl/u: I hit the dog.	h6ms6b kukur ke marl/u: We hit the dog.
2nd person hon.	6ha: kukur ke marl/u: You hit the dog.	6ha:s6b kukur ke marl/u: You(pl.) hit the dog.
3rd person hon.	o kukur ke marl6ith He hit the dog.	os6b kukur ke marl6ith They hit the dog.

5. Gender. It is only the older generation who make any distinction between masculine and feminine gender, and even then feminine gender is in very restricted usage. With the third person honorific form in the Completive and Recent Completive Aspects, if the Subject is feminine the verb also is feminine when no other case is included in the personal terminations.

o ge-l-ih
she went-Cmp-3hf
She went.

o ge-l-ih-6
she went-Cmp-3hf-Rc
She went.

The younger generation do not employ these forms even though the feminine form is used in the written language.

6. Voice. The voice exhibits the attitude of the participants to the action. In the Active voice the Subject is performing the action, whereas in the Passive voice the Undergoer or Site moves to the Subject position as Undergoer.

Active

Ram h6mra ciTThi bhejl6k
Ram sent the letter to me.

h6m gh6r me p/isl/u:
I entered the house.

Passive

Ram dwar6 h6mra ciTThi bhej6l gel ch6l
The letter has been sent to me by Ram.

gh6r h6mra dwar6 p/isael gel ch6l
The house has been (caused to be) entered by me.

Those clause patterns which do not take a passive form may take a causative passive form, as shown in the example above, which is a Semi-Transitive clause.

The passive is formed from the verbal noun III plus some form of jae6b 'to go'. Only the DiTransitive and Transitive clause patterns take passive directly. All other clause patterns must first undergo a causativizing rule, then passive may be used.

7. Tense-Aspect System.

The tense markers in Maithili show the relative time of a clause to the context. The tenses are Prior Past, Past, Present, Prior Future, and Future in time. Where the tenses are formed from a main verb plus an auxiliary, it is the auxiliary which carries the tense marking. In the finite verb aspect is marked by affixation. Aspect will be discussed before the tense-aspect marking system is exemplified.

7.1 Aspect.

The aspect markers show the distribution in time of any given clause. The examples in this section are given simply with one person involved. This is done to avoid the complexity brought in to the verb when another person as well as the Subject is in focus. The Figures in the following section show the forms of the verb with Subject plus another person. The following aspects may be expressed in Maithili: Completive, Recent Completive, Imperfect[2], Perfect[2], Continuous, and Intentional.

Completive. This aspect shows that a whole act is represented in the verb. The Completive and Recent Completive fall into this category. Both represent completed action. Completive may have been completed at any time in the past. Examples are given of Transitive verbs only. There are some differences between Transitive and Intransitive verb endings.

dekh-l-/u:
saw-Cmp-1st
I saw.

khae-l-/u:
ate-Cmp-1st
I ate.

Recent Completive. Recent Completive indicates that an act has been completed only at some time during the present day, right up to the present time.

dekh-l-/u:-h6
saw-Cmp-1st-Rc
I saw. (during today)

khae-l-/u:-h6
ate-Cmp-1st-Rc
I ate. (during today)

Imperfect. This is an incomplete aspect where neither the beginning nor the end of an act is seen. This aspect is found in verb phrases combining a main verb with an auxiliary. The Imperfect aspect marker -/it is suffixed to the stem of the main verb. There is no difference between the forms of Transitive and Intransitive verbs.

dekh-/it ch6-l-/u:
see-Im was-Pst-1st
I was seeing.

dekh-/it ch-i
see-Im am-Pr-1st
I am seeing.

dekh-/it r6h-6b
see-Im remain-F-1st
I will be seeing.

Perfect. The Perfect aspect indicates a completed action at any point in time. It is marked by the suffix *-ne* attached to the stem of the main verb of a Transitive construction or by the Completive aspect suffix *-6l* in an Intransitive construction.

dekh-ne ch6-l-/u:
saw-Pf was-Pst-1st
I had seen.

dekh-ne ch-i
saw-Pf am-Pr-1st
I have seen.

dekh-ne r6h-6b
saw-Pf remain-F-1st
I will have seen.

Continuous. The Continuous aspect is marked by the addition of the Perfect Participle of the verb *r6h6b* 'to remain'.

dekh r6h6l ch6-l-/u:
see remain was-Pst-1st
I was continuing to see.

dekh r6h6l ch-i
see remain am-Pr-1st
I am continuing to see.

It will be noticed that Past and Present are found with this aspect, but not Future.

Intentional. This aspect indicates that the person intends to carry out what he is saying, but because of the fact that it is not already done it cannot be certain of execution.

dekh-6b
see-In-1st
I will see.

khae-6b
eat-In-1st
I will eat.

The following chart is given to show how the personal termination and tense aspect systems combine.

Time / Aspect	Prior Past	Past	Present	Prior Future	Future
Completive		dekhl/u:			
Recent Completive		dekhl/u:h6			
Imperfect[2]		dekh/it ch6l/u:	dekh/it chi		dekh/it r6h6b
Perfect [2]	dekhne ch6l/u:		dekhne chi	dekhne r6h6b	
Continuous		dekh r6h6l ch6l/u:	dekh r6h6l chi		
Intentional					dekh6b

Figure 17. Combination of Personal Terminations in the Tense-Aspect System.

7.2 Personal Terminations in the Tense-Aspect System.

Here the personal terminations, as used when only the Subject is in focus, will be displayed in the various tense-aspect combinations. Matrices will be given of the combined personal terminations of the Subject and some other case, as necessary. In the matrices given, the following conventions are used: x = cannot occur, —— does not occur, * may occur but is rarely used.

Completive. The Completive is formed from the verb stem, plus the aspect marker -6l, plus the personal termination. Some morphophonemic changes are involved so that in some cases the vowel of the aspect marker -6l is reduced to an open transition, which is not written.

It may be noted here that roots ending in a vowel take the same suffixes as those roots ending in a consonant, however, morphophonemic changes become necessary. Space does not permit a detailed treatment in this paper, but the reader is alerted to this fact.

dekhl/u:	dekhli	'I saw'
dekhl/u:	dekhli	'You(h) saw'
dekhl6h		'You(mh) saw'
dekhle		'You(nh) saw'
dekhl6ith		'He(h) saw'
dekhl6k		'He(nh) saw'

The third person honorific ending -ah is used with intransitive verbs as well as the ending -6ith, however, -ah is not possible with transitive verbs in the Completive aspect.

Other / Subject	3rd person		2nd person			1st person
	hon.	non-hon.	mid-hon.	non-hon.	hon.	
3rd person hon.	-16in -61khin -61k6in	-16in -61khin -61k6in	-61khun -61thun	-61khun -61thun	-16in	-16in
3rd person non-hon.	-16in -61khin -61k6in	-61k6i	-61ko	-61k/u	—	—
2nd person mid-hon.	-16h6h -16hun	-16h6h	x	x	x	—
2nd person non-hon.	-16hi -16hun	-16hi	x	x	x	—
2nd person hon.	-61i6in	-61i6i	x	x	x	—
1st person	-61i6in	-61i6i	-61iyo	-61iy/u	—	—

Figure 18. Completive Aspect Personal Terminations.

Recent Completive. The Recent Completive is formed by adding to the verb stem the Completive aspect marker -61, the personal termination, and then a Recent aspect marker -h6. The morphophonemic changes found in the Completive are also found in the Recent Completive, and it will be noticed in the matrix that further changes occur involving the Recent aspect marker -h6. The third person honorific form -ah is not possible with transitive verbs.

bhor	me	h6m	khael/u:h6	'I ate this morning'
bhor	me	6ha:	khael/u:h6	'You(h) ate this morning'
bhor	me	to:	khael6h6	'You(mh) ate this morning'
bhor	me	to:	khaeleh6	'You(nh) ate this morning'
bhor	me	o	khael6ith	'He(h) ate this morning'
bhor	me	o	khael6kh6	'He(nh) ate this morning'

Other / Subject		3rd person		2nd person			1st person
		hon.	non-hon.	mid-hon.	non-hon.	hon.	
3rd person	hon.	-l6inh6 -6lkhinh6 -6lk6inh6	-l6inh6 -6lkhinh6 -6lk6inh6	-6lkhunh6	-6lkhunh6	-l6inh6	-l6inh6
	non-hon.	-6lkhinh6 -6lk6inh6	-6lk6iy6	-6lkoh6	-6lk/uw6	—	—
2nd person	mid-hon.	-6lhoh6 -l6hunh6	-6lhoh6	x	x	x	—
	non-hon.	-l6hiy6 -l6hunh6	-l6hiy6	x	x	x	—
	hon.	-li6inh6	-li6iy6	x	x	x	—
1st person		-li6inh6	-li6iy6	-6liyo6	-6liy/u6	—	—

Figure 19. Recent Completive Aspect Personal Terminations.

Other / Subject		3rd person		2nd person			1st person
		hon.	non-hon.	mid-hon.	non-hon.	hon.	
3rd person	hon.	-thin -t6thin* -t6in	-thin -t6in	-thun	-thun	—	-thin -t6thin*
	non-hon.	-thin -t6in	-t6i	-to	-t/u	—	—
2nd person	mid-hon.	-b6h6h -b6hun	-b6h6h	x	x	x	—
	non-hon.	-b6hi -b6hun	-b6hi	x	x	x	—
	hon.	-b6in	-b6i	x	x	x	—
1st person		-b6in	-b6i	-bo	-b/u	—	—

Figure 20. Intentional Aspect Personal Terminations.

Intentional. The Intentional is formed from the verb stem plus the affix -6b. This form is also used as a verbal noun and as the Infinitive. As the Intentional it is conjugated as follows:

h6m	dekh6b		'I will see'
6ha:	dekh6b		'You(h) will see'
to:	dekhhb6h		'You(mh) will see'
to:	dekhbe		'You(nh) will see'
o	dekhtah	dekht6ith	'He(h) will see'
o	dekh6t		'He(nh) will see'

Future Perfect. This tense-aspect combination is formed with the stem of the main verb plus the Perfect aspect marker -ne in Transitive verbs and the Completive aspect marker -6l in Intransitive verbs, combined with the auxiliary verb 'to remain' in its Future form, r6h6b. Again examples are given of the conjugation as it applies with reference to the Subject only. The appropriate matrix may be seen in Figure 20, but it should be noted that it is not the verb stem of r6h6b to which these suffixes are affixed, but to r6h6-.

h6m	dekhne	r6h6b		'I will have seen'
6ha:	dekhne	r6h6b		'You(h) will have seen'
to:	dekhne	r6h6b6h		'You(mh) will have seen'
to:	dekhne	r6h6be		'You(nh) will have seen'
o	dekhne	r6h6tah	r6h6t6ith	'He(h) will have seen'
o	dekhne	r6h6t		'He(nh) will have seen'

Future Imperfect. The Future Imperfect is formed with the stem of the main verb plus the Imperfect aspect marker -/it combined with the auxiliary verb r6h6b 'to remain' in its future form. With r6h6- the appropriate personal terminations can be seen in Figure 20.

h6m	dekh/it	r6h6b		'I will be seeing'
6ha:	dekh/it	r6h6b		'You(h) will be seeing'
to:	dekh/it	r6h6b6h		'You(mh) will be seeing'
to:	dekh/it	r6h6be		'You(nh) will be seeing'
o	dekh/it	r6h6tah	r6h6t6ith	'He(h) will be seeing'
o	dekh/it	r6h6t		'He(nh) will be seeing'

Past Perfect. The Past Perfect is formed with the stem of the main verb plus the Perfect aspect marker -ne in Transitive verbs, or the completive aspect marker -6l in Intransitive verbs, followed by /ich 'to be' in the Past tense. Alternatively, the verb r6h6b 'to remain' in its Past tense form may be used in place of the verb /ich 'to be' without any apparent change of meaning.

h6m	dekhne	ch6l/u:	ch6li	'I had seen'
6ha:	dekhne	ch6l/u:	ch6li	'You(h) had seen'
to:	dekhne	ch6l6h		'You(mh) had seen'
to:	dekhne	ch6le		'You(nh) had seen'
o	dekhne	ch6lah	ch6l6ith	'He(h) had seen'
o	dekhne	/ich		'He(nh) had seen'

Other / Subject		3rd person		2nd person			1st person
		hon.	non-hon.	mid-hon.	non-hon.	hon.	
3rd person	hon.	-616in -61khin	-616in -61khin	-61khun -61thun	-61khun -61thun	—	—
	non-hon.	-616in -61khin	-616i	-61o	-61/u	—	—
2nd person	mid-hon.	-61h6h -61hun	-61h6h	x	x	x	—
	non-hon.	-61hi -61hun	-61hi	x	x	x	—
	hon.	-61i6in	-61i6i	x	x	x	—
1st person		-61i6in	-61i6i	-61iyo	-61iy/u	—	—

Figure 21. Past Perfect Personal Terminations with /ich 'to be'.

Other / Subject		3rd person		2nd person			1st person
		hon.	non-hon.	mid-hon.	non-hon.	hon.	
3rd person	hon.	-6in -thin	-6in -thin	-thun	-thun	—	—
	non-hon.	-6in -thin	-6i	-o	-/u	—	—
2nd person	mid-hon.	-6h -un	-6h	x	x	x	—
	non-hon.	-i -un	-i	x	x	x	—
	hon.	-i6in	-i6i	x	x	x	—
1st person		-i6in	-i6i	-iyo	-iy/u	—	—

Figure 22. Past Perfect Personal Terminations with r6h6b 'to remain'.

Past Imperfect. The stem of the main verb plus the Imperfect aspect marker -*/it* with the verb */ich* 'to be' form the Past Imperfect. As with the Past Perfect the verb *r6h6b* 'to remain' is optionally used in the place of */ich* 'to be' as the auxiliary. See Figures 21, 22, and 23 for the appropriate personal terminations. Those referring to the Subject only are given below.

h6m	dekh/it	ch61/u:	ch61i	'I was seeing'
6ha:	dekh/it	ch61/u:	ch61i	'You(h) were seeing'
to:	dekh/it	ch616h		'You(mh) were seeing'
to:	dekh/it	ch61e		'You(nh) were seeing'
o	dekh/it	ch61ah	ch616ith	'He(h) was seeing'
o	dekh/it	ch61		'He(nh) was seeing'

Present Perfect. The Present Perfect is formed by adding the Perfect aspect marker -*ne* to Transitive verbs, or the Completive aspect marker -*61* to Intransitive verbs, to the stem of the main verb followed by */ich* 'to be' in the Present tense.

Other / Subject		3rd person		2nd person			1st person
		hon.	non-hon.	mid-hon.	non-hon.	hon.	
3rd person	hon.	-6in -thin	-6in -thin	-thun	-thun	——	——
	non-hon.	-6in -thin	-6i	-o	-/u	——	——
2nd person	mid-hon.	-6h6h -6hun	-6h6h	x	x	x	——
	non-hon.	-ihi -6hun	-ihi	x	x	x	——
	hon.	-i6in	-i6i	x	x	x	——
1st person		-i6in	-i6i	-iyo	-iy/u	——	——

Figure 23. Present Perfect Personal Terminations.

h6m	dekhne	chi	'I have seen'
6ha:	dekhne	chi	'You(h) have seen'
to:	dekhne	ch6h	'You(mh) have seen'
to:	dekhne	che	'You(nh) have seen'
o	dekhne	ch/ith	'He(h) has seen'
o	dekhne	/ich	'He(nh) has seen'

Present Imperfect. The Imperfect aspect marker -*/it* is added to the stem of the main verb followed by the verb */ich* 'to be' in the Present tense to form the Present Imperfect. The combined personal terminations may be seen in Figure 23.

In all cases the conjugation referring to the Subject only is the same as that given under Present Perfect, but note that the form of the main verb differs. In the Present Imperfect the main verb becomes *dekh/it* 'seeing'.

Past Continuous. The Past Continuous is formed with the stem of the main verb, the verb r6h6b 'to remain' in its Perfect Participle form, followed by the verb */ich* 'to be' in the Past tense. The appropriate personal terminations may be seen in Figure 21.

h6m	dekh	r6h6l	ch6l/u:	ch6li	'I was continuing to see'
6ha:	dekh	r6h6l	ch6l/u:	ch6li	'You(h) were continuing to see'
to:	dekh	r6h6l	ch6l6h		'You(mh) were continuing to see'
to:	dekh	r6h6l	ch6le		'You(nh) were continuing to see'
o	dekh	r6h6l	ch6lah	ch6l6ith	'He(h) was continuing to see'
o	dekh	r6h6l	ch6l		'He(nh) was continuing to see'

Present Continuous. The Present Continuous is formed as for the Past Continuous except that the verb */ich* 'to be' is used in the Present tense. The personal terminations are given in Figure 23.

h6m	dekh	r6h6l	chi	'I am continuing to see'
6ha:	dekh	r6h6l	chi	'You(h) are continuing to see'
to:	dekh	r6h6l	ch6h	'You(mh) are continuing to see'
to:	dekh	r6h6l	che	'You(nh) are continuing to see'
o	dekh	r6h6l	ch/ith	'He(h) is continuing to see'
o	dekh	r6h6l	/ich	'He(nh) is continuing to see'

'*to be*'. The verb */ich* is defective and is conjugated only in a simple Present tense and a simple Past tense, which are not used with any other verb. The conjugations are the same as those of the auxiliary shown under Past Imperfect and Present Perfect above, and the personal terminations may be seen in Figures 21 and 23. The other tense-aspect combinations are formed by employing the verb *hae6b* 'to be' combined with the appropriate auxiliaries where necessary. Other verbs meaning 'to be' are *6i*, which is used only in the third person Present tense; *r6he* from the verb 'to remain', used only in third person Past tense; and *thik*, used only in the third person Present tense. The verb */ich* is used most commonly.

8. *Modality*.

Modality is a rather large system in Maithili and a complete list of verbs will not be given in this paper, however, a number of them will be illustrated below. Those verbs which have a simple embedding rule are considered modal verbs in this paper, and those which have a double function embedding rule are dealt with in Section D. Derived Patterns.

Desiderative. This compound verb is formed with the oblique form of verbal noun I, plus the verb cah6b 'to want'.

h6m Ram ke ciTThi likh/it chi
I am writing a letter to Ram.

h6m Ram ke ciTThi likh6 c6h/it chi
I want to write a letter to Ram.

h6m gh6r me p/is/it chi
I am entering the house.

h6m gh6r me p/is6 c6h/it chi
I want to enter the house.

Inceptive. The oblique form of verbal noun I is employed, plus lag6b 'to be attached', to form the Inceptive.

h6m kitab p6rhl/u:
I read the book.

h6m kitab p6rh6 l6gl/u:
I began to read the book.

b6rsa bhel
It rained.

b6rsa hob6 lag6l
It began to rain.

Abilitative. Here again the oblique form of verbal noun I is used, but combines with the verb s6k6b 'to be able' for form the Abilitative compound.

h6m b6rt6n me pain r6kh/it chi
I am putting water in the pot.

h6m b6rt6n me pain r6kh6 s6k/it chi
I am able to put water in the pot.

h6m sinema gel/u:
I went to the cinema.

h6m sinema jae s6kl/u:
I was able to go to the cinema.

Pretence. The compound verb b6h6nn6 k6r6b 'to pretend' is combined with the Genitive of the oblique form of verbal noun I as follows:

h6m t6rkari me m6sala del/u: ==>
I put spices in the vegetables.

h6m t6rkari me m6sala del6k b6h6nn6 kel/u:
I pretended to put spices in the vegetables.

h6m sutl/u: ==> h6m sut6k b6h6nn6 kel/u:
I slept. I pretended to sleep.

Cessation. This may be formed in two ways.

a) The alternative infinitive form -*nai*, plus *chor6b* 'to give up', plus *deb* 'to give', which is optionally deletable and acts as an intensifier.

h6m m6tkuri me d6hi r6khl/u: ==>
I kept curd in a small pot.

h6m m6tkuri me d6hi r6khnai chori del/u:
I gave up keeping curd in a small pot.

b) The direct form of verbal noun II, plus *chor6b* 'to give up' in the conjunctive participle form, plus *deb* 'to give', optionally added as an intensifier.

h6m sinema gel/u: ==> h6m sinema jae6b chori del/u:
I went to the cinema. I gave up going to the cinema.

Endeavour. The compound verb *kosis k6r6b* 'to try' is combined with the Genitive of the oblique form of verbal noun II as follows.

h6m admi ke cinhl/u: ==> h6m admi ke cinhbak kosis kel/u:
I recognized the man. I tried to recognize the man.

h6m sutl/u: ==> h6m sutbak kosis kel/u:
I slept. I tried to sleep.

Expectation. The Genitive of the oblique form of verbal noun II is used with the compound verb *asa k6r6b* 'to hope' in the following way.

h6m Taj M6h6l dekhl/u: ==>
I saw the Taj Mahal.

h6m Taj M6h6l dekhbak asa k6r/i chi
I am hoping to see the Taj Mahal.

b6rsa bhel ==> h6m b6rsa hobak asa kel/u:
It rained. I hoped it would rain.

Perfective. The direct form of verbal noun I is combined with the verb *cuk6b* 'to finish'.

h6m kitab p6rhl/u: ==> h6m kitab p/irh cukl/u:
I read the book. I finished reading the book.

h6m khael/u: ==> h6m kha cukl/u:
I ate. I finished eating.

Contingent. The verb *hae6b* 'to be' combines with the Imperfect or Perfect Participles as does the auxiliary /ich 'to be'. It is possible to have *dekhne* *hae6b* 'I might have seen', *dekh/it* *hae6b* 'I may have seen' and *dekh* *r6h61* *hae6b* ' may continue to see'. In this paper *hae6b* 'to be' is considered a modal verb.

o gach p6r s6 kh6slah ==> o gach p6r s6 kh6s61 haetah
He fell from the tree. He might have fallen from the tree.

h6m j6bab jan/it chi ==> h6m j6bab jan/it hae6b
I know the answer. I may know the answer.

Negation. Negation in Maithili is formed by simply adding the negation word *n6i* to the verb phrase. With simple verbs it comes before the verb and with compound verbs it may come initially or medially.

D. *Derived Patterns*.

An inherent clause of a given cell in the transitivity system is one which has a verb which does not incorporate any of the expansions which may occur in the derivation system, and in which only nuclear roles are realized. An inherent clause may be moved out of its given cell into various other cells of the system by a series of one or more derivations. A tentative set of rules is given by which clauses in Maithili may be derived from one cell to another. These rules may come under the broad headings of Contrastive and Non-Contrastive rules. When Contrastive rules are applied it means that the derived clause contrasts with the inherent clause in the function of roles or the number of nuclear roles. When Non-Contrastive rules apply it means there is no difference in the function of roles or the number of nuclear roles, but an optional deletion rule has taken place.

In Maithili it is possible to delete an Actor, Undergoer, or Site. However, this does not necessarily alter the inherent clause type, as the person of the Subject is always marked in the verb in the transitive set, and in some cases the person of the Undergoer or Site (see Figure 12) may also be included in the verb, though the role or roles are not obligatorily mentioned explicitly.

dekh-61-i-6in
see-Cmp-1st-3h
I saw her/him(h).

k6h-61-khin
say-Cmp-3h+3h/3nh
She/he(h) said to her/him(h or nh).

In the above examples the context would clarify the gender and honorific status of the persons involved.

Other examples are given of Actor, Undergoer, and Site deletion.

h6m hunka kitab de-l-i-6in
I him to Gol book Umk gave-Cmp-1st-3h
Act Sit Und Evt
I gave the book to him.

hunka kitab de-l-i-6in
him to Gol book Umk gave-Cmp-1st-3h
Sit Und Evt
(I) gave the book to him.

kitab de-l-i-6in
book Umk gave-Cmp-1st-3h
Und Evt
(I) gave the book (to him).

de-l-i-6in
gave-Cmp-1st-3h
Evt
(I) gave (the book) (to him).

It can be seen that the Actor and the Site are marked in the verb, though not necessarily explicitly mentioned, and when the Undergoer is deleted it is still understood that something was given, though the object is not known.

The Contrastive rules in Maithili are:

a) Rules that add Actor, Undergoer, and Site.
b) Rules that embed.
c) Rules that delete Actor.
d) Rules that shift from one discourse category to another, that is, from Event to State and vice versa.

1. Derivation Rules.

The derivation rules for Maithili are briefly explained and exemplified below.

1.1 Addition Rules.

Causativizer 1 (Cv1). DA A SA to DT T ST

Add: a) verb k6r6b 'to do'.
b) appropriate personal terminations to the verb.
c) Subject as Actor.

To take a clause from the Attributive set to the Transitive set the verb 'to be' is replaced by the verb 'to do'. Note that the Circumstantial clause pattern does not derive to the Transitive set. One subset within the Attributive clause pattern has only third person verb endings, as does the SemiAttributive clause pattern. When moved to the Transitive set by the verb 'to do' all the persons may be used in the verb without restriction. An Actor as grammatical Subject is also added by the Transitive verb. In some instances the verb b6naeb 'to make' is used instead of k6r6b 'to do'. The Complement of the Attributive verb embeds as Complement to the new verb.

DA	oi	n6di	me	pul	6i	==>
	that	river	in Loc	bridge Umk	is-3nh	
	Sit			Und	Sta	
	There is a bridge over that river.					

DT	h6m	oi	n6di	me	pul	ke-1-/u:
	I Umk	that	river	in Loc	bridge Umk	did-Cmp-1st
	Act	Sit			Und	Evt
	I made a bridge over that river.					

A	Ram	bimar	/ich	==>
	Ram Umk	sick PEx	is-3nh	
	Und	Sta		
	Ram is sick.			

T	o	Ram	bimar	ke-1-6in
	he Umk	Ram Gol	sick PEx	did-Cmp-3h+3h
	Act	Und	Evt	
	He made Ram sick.			

Causativizer 2 (Cv2). DR R to DT T

Add: a) length to final vowel of verb stem.
b) appropriate personal terminations to the verb.
c) Subject as Actor.

There is a set of Receptive verbs which change from a Receptive meaning to a Transitive meaning by the lengthening of a vowel, the addition of an Actor and the incorporation of the appropriate personal terminations. The Subject as Undergoer of the Receptive clause becomes Object as Undergoer of the Transitive clause and the new Subject is Actor.

DR	pyaer	me	s6	ka:T	nik61-61
	foot	in	from Sce	thorn Umk	came out-Cmp-3nh
	Sit			Und	Evt
	The thorn came out of my foot.				

DT h6m pyaer me s6 ka:T nik-al-61-/u:
I Umk foot in from Sce nail Umk drew out-cv2-Cmp-3nh
Act Sit Und Evt
I drew the thorn out of my foot.

R 6nat p61/i /ich ==>
orphan Umk rearing is-PrI-3nh
Und Evt
The orphan is being reared.

T h6m ekTa 6nat ke p-al-/i chi
I Umk one orphan Gol rearing am-cv2-PrI-1st
Act Und Evt
I am rearing an orphan.

It may be noted here that there is another set of Receptive verbs which change their form when used as Transitive verbs.

Receptive		Transitive	
TuT6b	'to be broken'	tor6b	'to break'
phuT6b	'to be torn, cracked'	phar6b	'to tear, crack'

Causativizer 3. ST I DR R SR E to DT T DT T ST I

Rule 1. Add:
a) suffix -/u to verb stem.
b) appropriate personal terminations to the verb.
c) Subject as Actor.
d) change Subject as Undergoer to Object as Undergoer.

R gach suikh ge-l ==>
tree Umk dried went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The tree withered.

T h6m gach sukh-/u-l-/u:
I Umk tree Umk dried-cv3-Cmp-1st
Act Und Evt
I dried the tree.

R ghyu p6gh/il ge-l ==>
clarified butter Umk melted went-Cmp-3nh
Und Evt
The clarified butter melted.

T h6m ghyu p6gh61-/u-l-/u:
I Umk clarified butter Umk melted-cv3-Cmp-1st
Act Und Evt
I melted the clarified butter.

Rule 2. I ST to T DT

Add: a), b), and c) as above.
d) change Subject as Actor to Object as Undergoer.

I h6m h6:s-1-/u: ==>
I Umk laughed-Cmp-1st
Act Evt
I laughed.

T o h6mra h6:s-/u-1-6in
he Umk me Gol laughed-cv3-Cmp-3h+1st
Act Und Evt
He caused me to laugh.

ST o gh6r me p/is-1-6k ==>
he Umk house in Loc entered-Cmp-3nh
Act Sit Evt
He entered the house.

DT h6m okra gh6r me p/is-/u-1-/u:
I Umk him Gol house in Loc entered-cv3-Cmp-1st
Act Und Sit Evt
I caused him to enter the house.

Rule 3. T to DT

Add: a), b), and c) as above.
d) change Subject as Actor to Referent as Site (IO).

T o gae dekh-1-6in ==>
he Umk cow Umk saw-Cmp-3h+3nh
Act Und Evt
He saw the cow.

DT h6m okra gae dekh-/u-1-i-6in
I Umk him to Gol cow Umk saw-cv3-Cmp-1st-3h
Act Sit Und Evt
I showed him the cow.

T Ram Deb bhat khae-1-6in ==>
Ram Deb Umk rice Umk ate-Cmp-3h+3nh
Act Und Evt
Ram Deb ate the rice.

DT o Ram Deb ke bhat khu-/u-1-6in
he Umk Ram Deb Gol rice Umk ate-cv3-Cmp-3h+3h
Act Sit Und Evt
He fed rice to Ram Deb.

This suffix -/u may be used in the Attributive set only after the Causativizer 1 rule has been applied. The Complement of the Attributive verb embeds as a Complement to the new verb.

DA	ok6r	dunu hath	haend61	p6r	ch61
	his	both hands Umk	handle	on Loc	were-Pst-3nh
	Und		Sit		Sta

Both his hands were on the handle bars.

cv1	DT	h6m	ok6r dunu hath	haend61	p6r	ke-l-/u:
		I Umk	his both hands Umk	handle	on Loc	did-Cmp-1st
		Act	Und	Sit		Evt

I put both his hands on the handle bars.

cv3	DT	h6m	ok6r dunu hath	haend61	p6r	k6r-/u-l-/u:
		I Umk	his both hands Umk	handle	on Loc	did-cv3-Cmp-1st
		Act	Und	Sit		Evt

I caused (someone) to put both his hands on the handle bars.

A	gh6r	n6mh6r	/ich
	house Umk	big PEx	is-Pr-3nh
	Und	Sta	

The house is big.

cv1	T	h6m	gh6r	n6mh6r	ke-l-/u:
		I Umk	house Umk	big PEx	did-Cmp-1st
		Act	Und	Evt	

I enlarged the house.

cv3	T	h6m	gh6r	n6mh6r	k6r-/u-l-/u:
		I Umk	house Umk	big PEx	did-cv3-Cmp-1st
		Act	Und	Evt	

I caused (someone) to enlarge the house.

Causativizer 4. DT T

Add: a) suffix -/u or -b/u.
b) Subject as Causer.

With Transitive or Ditransitive verbs either the suffix -/u or the suffix -b/u may be used as a causativizer without a change of meaning. See the following examples.

DT	h6m	t6rkari	me	m6sala	di-/u-l-/u:
	I Umk	vegetables	in Loc	spices Umk	gave-cv4-Cmp-1st
	Act	Sit		Und	Evt

I caused (someone) to put spices in the vegetables.

DT	h6m	t6rkari	me	m6sala	di6-b/u-l-/u:
	I Umk	vegetables	in Loc	spices Umk	gave-cv4-Cmp-1st
	Act	Sit		Und	Evt

I caused (someone) to put spices in the vegetables.

T h6m6r babu 6p6n j6min n6i chor-/u-l-6in
my father Umk our land Umk not gave up-cv4-Cmp-3h+3nh
Act Und Evt
My father did not cause (someone) to give up our land.

T h6m6r babu 6p6n j6min n6i chor-b/u-l-6in
my father Umk our land Umk not gave up-cv4-Cmp-3h+3nh
Act Und Evt
My father did not cause (someone) to give up our land.

When the suffix -b/u is used with Attributive inherent clauses the Causativizer 1 rule has to be applied first, thus deriving the clause into the Transitive cell—then the meaning remains the same when the suffixes -/u and -b/u are used.

A gh6r n6mh6r /ich ==>
house Umk big PEx is-Pr-3nh
Und Sta
The house is big.

cv1 T h6m gh6r n6mh6r ke-l-/u: ==>
I Umk house Umk big PEx did-Cmp-1st
Act Und Evt
I enlarged the house.

cv4 T h6m gh6r n6mh6r k6r-/u-l-/u:
I Umk house Umk big-PEx did-cv4-Cmp-1st
Act Und Evt
I caused (someone) to enlarge the house.

cv4 T h6m gh6r n6mh6r k6r-b/u-l-/u:
I Umk house Umk big PEx did-cv4-Cmp-1st
Act Und Evt
I caused (someone) to enlarge the house.

Double Causativizer. ST I DR R SR E to DT T DT T ST I

Add: a) suffix -b/u

When the suffix -b/u is added to the Receptive set of verbs and Semi-Transitive and Intransitive verbs it functions as a Double Causativizer, adding another person as involved in the action.

DR pyaer me s6 ka:T nik/il ge-l ==>
foot in from Sce thorn Umk came out went-Cmp-3nh
Sit Und Evt
The thorn came out of my foot.

cv2 DT h6m pyaer me s6 ka:T nik-al-6l-/u: ==>
I Umk foot in from Sce thorn Umk drew out-cv2-Cmp-1st
Act Sit Und Evt
I drew the thorn out of my foot.

DCv	DT	h6m	pyaer me s6	ka:T	nik-al-b/u-l-/u:	
		I Umk	foot in from Sce	thorn Umk	drew out-cv2-dcv-Cmp-1st	
		Act	Sit	Und	Evt	

I caused (someone) to draw the thorn out of my foot.

ST	o	gh6r me	p/is-I-6k	==>
	he Umk	house in Loc	entered-Cmp-3nh	
	Act	Sit	Evt	

He entered the house.

cv3	DT	h6m	okra	gh6r me	p/is-/u-l-/u:	==>
		I Umk	him Gol	house in Loc	entered-cv3-Cmp-1st	
		Act	Und	Sit	Evt	

I caused him to enter the house.

DCv	DT	h6m	okra	gh6r me	p/is-b/u-l-/u:
		I Umk	him Gol	house in Loc	entered-dcv-Cmp-1st
		Act	Und	Sit	Evt

I caused (someone) to cause him to enter the house.

1.2 Embedding Rules.

The modification of a clause by the addition of a modal verb is a common occurrence in Maithili. With the addition of a modal verb a clause is embedded within a clause with the modal verb governing the case frame so that a re-interpretation of roles becomes necessary. The two types of embedding dealt with here are simple embedding and double-function embedding.

1.21 Simple Embedding.

There are many verbs in Maithili which cause simple embedding. Some of these verbs are illustrated in Section C. Inflected Patterns under 8. Modality. Where there is simple embedding the clauses are derived into the Transitive clause pattern as can be seen from the following examples.

R	ghyu	p6gh6l/it /ich
	Und	Evt

The clarified butter is melting.

T	h6m	ghyu	p6gh6l6	c6h/it chi
	Act	Und		Evt

I want to melt the clarified butter.

It will be noted from the above examples that when the modal verb 'want' is employed there is the addition of an Actor, and the Undergoer and Predicate complex of the original clause embed as the Undergoer of the new Transitive clause.

1.22 Double Function Embedding.

Where the Actor assumes a new role in a clause modified by the addition of a new verb, that role is said to be in double function, as its role in the original clause is different from its role in the modified clause. The rest of the clause acts as a role in the new clause. The following examples are given showing the Actor in double function.

Necessity. I ST T DT to DR

Rule: a) change the verb of clause to be modified, to a verbal noun.
b) change the Actor to a Site.
c) add j6rur 'certainly' before the original verb.
d) add the uninflected verb cahi 'to need'.

The Actor of the original clause is now in double function. It functions both as the Actor of the modified clause and as the Site of the new clause. With the Actor re-interpreted as a Goal marked Site, the rest of the modified clause is embedded within the Object slot as an Undergoer.

T h6m kitab p6rhl/u: ⟹
Act Und Evt
I read the book.

DR h6mra j6rur kitab p6rhbak cahi
Sit Und Evt
I need to read the book.

I h6m sutl/u: ⟹
Act Evt
I slept.

DR h6mra j6rur sutbak cahi
Sit Und Evt
I need to sleep.

Obligatory. I ST T DT to DR

Rule: a) change the verb of clause to be modified, to a verbal noun.
b) change the Actor to a Site.
c) add the uninflected verb cahi 'to need'

DT h6m Ram ke ciTThi likh/it chi ⟹
Act Sit Und Evt
I am writing a letter to Ram.

DR h6mra Ram ke ciTThi likhbak cahi
Sit Und Evt
I should write a letter to Ram.

ST h6m gh6r me p/isl/u: ⟹
Act Sit Evt
I entered the house.

DR h6mra gh6r me p/isbak cahi
Sit Und Evt
I ought to enter the house.

Again it can be seen in the above examples that the Actor is in double function, functioning as Actor in the original clause and Site in the modified clause, with the rest of the modified clause embedding as Undergoer.

Mandatory. I ST T DT to DR

Rule: a) change the verb of clause to be modified, to a verbal noun.
b) change the Actor to a Site.
c) add the verb p6r6b 'to fall'

Once again the Actor is in double function as Actor of the original clause and Site of the modified clause, with the rest of the modified clause embedding as Undergoer.

DT h6m b6rt6n me pain r6kh/i chi ⟹
Act Sit Und Evt
I am putting water in the pot.

DR h6mra b6rt6n me pain r6kh6 p6r/i /ich
Sit Und Evt
I must put water in the pot.

T h6m kukur ke dekhl/u: ⟹
Act Und Evt
I saw the dog.

DR h6mra kukur ke dekh6 p6r/i /ich
Sit Und Evt
I must see the dog.

1.3 Passive.

Rule: a) delete the Actor.
b) add the suffix -61 to the verb stem.
c) add the Perfect Participle form of the verb 'to go'.

The Actor of the active clause is most often deleted altogether, but if this should be required as an item in the passive clause the original Actor would appear as a peripheral item.

DT o 6ha:ke kitab del6k ==>
Act Sit Und Evt
He gave the book to you.

pv ST okra dwar6 6ha:ke kitab del gel
Mea Sit Und Evt-pv
The book was given to you by him.

T o h6116 sunl/u: ==>
Act Und Evt
He heard the noise.

pv R okra dwar6 h6116 sun61 gel
Mea Und Evt
The noise was heard by him.

It should be noted that any clause pattern may be passivized after a causative rule has been applied, but only the Ditransitive and Transitive clause patterns may passivize without first undergoing a derivation rule.

1.4 Shifting Rules.

Eventivization. SA A DA to SR R DR

Rule: replace the verb 'to be' with the verb 'to become'.

The Attributive set may be derived into the Receptive set by the application of the above rule. The shift is from an unchanging state to a change of state, as can be seen from the following examples.

DA h6mra gae /ich ==>
Sit Und Sta
I have a cow.

DR h6mra gae bh) gel
Sit Und Evt
I got a cow.

A g61ti ch61 ==>
Und Sta
There was a mistake.

R g61ti bh) gel
Und Evt
A mistake occurred.

Stativization. R set T set to A set S set

Rule: a) retain the appropriate tense-aspect and personal terminations.

b) add the third person form of the verb /ich 'to be'

The stativization rule derives in the opposite direction from the eventivization rule. The shift is from Event to State, so that clauses from the Transitive and Receptive sets are derived into the Stative and Attributive sets respectively.

T o s6m6car p6tr p6rhl6k ⟹
Act Und Evt
He read the newspaper.

S o s6m6car p6tr p6rhne /ich
Sta Und Sta
He has read the newspaper.

R Jibach m/ir gel ⟹
Und Evt
Jibach died.

A Jibach m/ir gel /ich
Und Sta
Jibach has died.

Passive Stativization. R to A

Rule: add the verb 'to be'.

By adding the verb 'to be' to the passive form the sense of the clause shifts from Event to State. This rule may apply to inherent clauses of the Transitive set or to clauses which have been derived into the Transitive set.

R kitab p6rh6l gel ⟹
Und Evt
The book was read.

A kitab p6rh6l gel ch6l
Und Sta
The book has been read.

R gh6r Thik kael gel ⟹
Und Evt
The house was fixed.

A gh6r Thik kael gel ch6l
Und Sta
The house has been fixed.

DiReceptive Stativization. DR to DA

Rule: add the verb 'to be'.

By adding the verb 'to be' the sense of the clause shifts from Event to State. This rule may apply to inherent or derived clauses.

DR h6mra s6b6k p6rh6 bh) gel ==>
Sit Und Evt
I finished reading the lesson.

DA h6mra s6b6k p6rh6 bh) gel ch61
Sit Und Sta
I have finished reading the lesson.

DR h6mra admi bh) gel ==>
Sit Und Evt
I became a man.

DA h6mra admi bh) gel ch61
Sit Und Sta
I have become a man.

2. Derivation Patterns.

The derivation rules which have been illustrated in the preceding section will now be applied to each cell of the transitivity system which is filled by an inherent clause pattern, so that the derivation potential of each clause pattern may be seen.

In the full transitivity matrix only twelve of sixteen possible clause patterns occur inherently in Maithili. However, after applying the derivation rules all sixteen cells are filled.

Tree diagrams and illustrations of the derivation potential for each of the inherent clause patterns are given below. For further examples of verbs with like derivation potential see Section C. 3. Contrastive Types. The conventions used in the tree diagrams are as follows.

Cv 1	Causativizer 1
Cv 2	Causativizer 2
Cv 3	Causativizer 3
Cv 4	Causativizer 4
DCv	Double Causative
DR Emb	DiReceptive Embedding
Pv	Passive
Ev	Eventivization
Sv	Stativization

Each node of the tree diagram is numbered. The first number is that given to the inherent clause pattern belonging to the sixteen patterns which make up the full transitivity system. The tree diagram of the full transitivity system may be seen in Figure 13. The numbering begins at 1. with the DiTransitive clause pattern, and as the Stative set is not inherent in Maithili the numbers 9-12 are omitted. As one reads the trees the numbers of each node are marked with a decimal point in order of how they appear in the examples given below each tree. If a derivation rule derives into a different clause pattern, then the initial number will change to the number of the inherent clause pattern. For instance, the SemiTransitive clause pattern is labelled 3, with the following nodes 3.1, 3.2, etc. It will be noticed that the Causativizer 3 rule gives a derivation into the DiTransitive clause pattern. The numbering then changes to 1, which is for a Ditransitive clause, followed by 1.1, 1.2, etc. Those numbers which follow as 1.1, 1.2, etc. do not necessarily correspond with 1.1, 1.2, etc. of the inherent Ditransitive clause pattern, but are labelled only for the particular derivations of the inherent SemiTransitive clause pattern.

It is to be noted that the full derivation is shown in the tree diagram of each clause pattern.

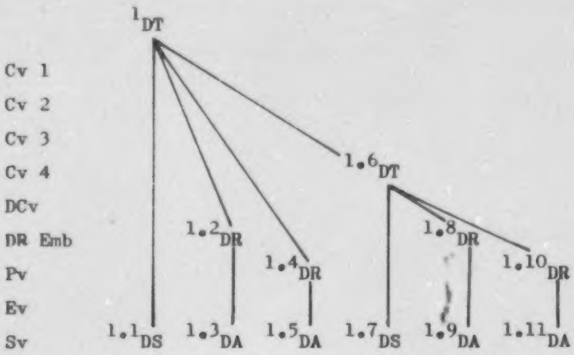


Figure 24. Derivations of DiTransitive Clause, Subsets a. and b.

DiTransitive Derivations.

1. DT h6m Ram Deb ke ciTThi likhl/u:
I wrote a letter to Ram Deb.

1.1 DS h6m Ram Deb ke ciTThi likhne ch6l/u:
I had written a letter to Ram Deb.

1.2 DR Ram Deb ke ciTThi likh6 bh) gel
A letter became written to Ram Deb (completely).

1.3 DA Ram Deb ke ciTThi likh6 bh) gel ch6l
A letter had become written to Ram Deb (completely).

1.4 DR ciTThi Ram Deb ke likh6l gel
A letter was written to Ram Deb.

1.5 DA citThi Ram Deb ke likh61 gel ch61
A letter had been written to Ram Deb.

1.6 DT h6m Ram Deb ke citThi likh/ul/u:)
likhb/ul/u:)
I caused (someone) to write a letter to Ram Deb.

1.7 DS h6m Ram Deb ke citThi likh/une) ch61/u:
likhb/une)
I had caused (someone) to write a letter to Ram Deb.

1.8 DR h6mra Ram Deb ke citThi likhab6 bh) gel
I finished causing (someone) to write a letter to Ram Deb.

1.9 DA h6mra Ram Deb ke citThi likhab6 bh) gel ch61
I had finished causing (someone) to write a letter to Ram Deb.

1.10 DR citThi Ram Deb ke likhael) gel
likhbael)
A letter was caused to be written to Ram Deb.

1.11 DA citThi Ram Deb ke likhael) gel ch61
likhbael)
A letter had been caused to be written to Ram Deb.

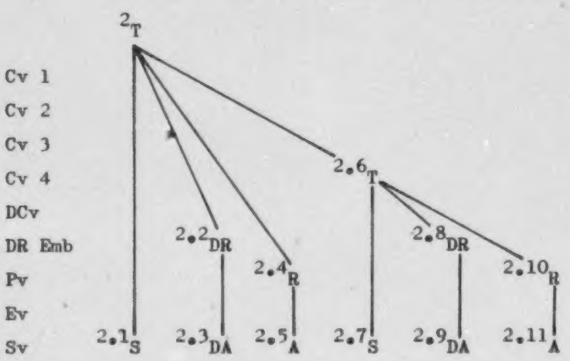


Figure 25. Derivations of Transitive Clause, Subset a.

Transitive Derivations A.

2 T h6m dhan piTl/u:
I beat the rice.

2.1 S h6m dhan piTne ch61/u:
I had beaten the rice.

2.2 DR h6mra dhan piT6 bh) gel
I finished beating the rice.

2.3 DA h6mra dhan piT6 bh) gel ch61
I had finished beating the rice.

2.4 R dhan piT61 gel
The rice was beaten.

2.5 A dhan piT61 gel ch61
The rice had been beaten.

2.6 T Jib Nath dhan piT/ul6in)
piTb/ul6in)
Jib Nath caused (someone) to beat the rice.

2.7 S Jib Nath dhan piT/une) ch61
piTb/une)
Jib Nath had caused (someone) to beat the rice.

2.8 DR h6mra dhan piTab6 bh) gel
I was caused to finish beating the rice.

2.9 DA h6mra dhan piTab6 bh) gel ch61
I had been caused to finish beating the rice.

2.10 R dhan piTael) gel
piTbael)
The rice was caused to be beaten.

2.11 A dhan piTael) gel ch61
piTbael)
The rice had been caused to be beaten.

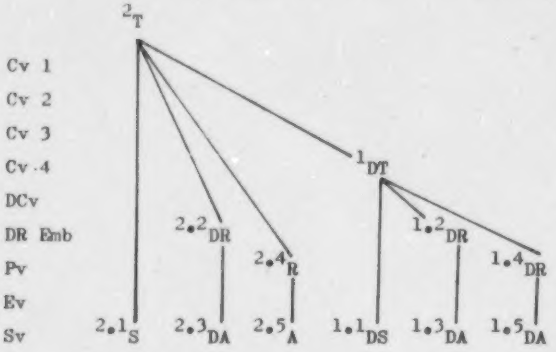

^2T
Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv
^1DT
2.2_{DR}
2.4_R
1.2_{DR}
1.4_{DR}
2.1_S
2.3_{DA}
2.5_A
1.1_{DS}
1.3_{DA}
1.5_{DA}

Figure 26. Derivations of Transitive Clause, Subset b.

Transitive Derivation B.

2 T Ram Deb bhat khael6k
Ram Deb ate the rice.

2.1 S Ram Deb bhat khaene ch6l
Ram Deb had eaten the rice.

2.2 DR Ram Deb ke bhat khae bh) gel
Ram Deb finished eating the rice.

2.3 DA Ram Deb ke bhat khae bh) gel ch6l
Ram Deb had finished eating the rice.

2.4 R bhat khael gel
The rice was eaten.

2.5 A bhat khael gel ch6l
The rice had been eaten.

1 DT h6m Ram Deb ke bhat khu/ul6k
I fed the rice to Ram Deb.

1.1 DS h6m Ram Deb ke bhat khu/une) ch6l/u:
khu6b/une)
I had fed the rice to Ram Deb.

1.2 DR Ram Deb ke bhat khuab6 bh) gel
Ram Deb finished feeding the rice (to someone).

1.3 DA Ram Deb ke bhat khuab6 bh) gel ch6l
Ram Deb had finished feeding the rice (to someone).

1.4 DR bhat h6mra khuael) gel
khu6bael)
The rice was fed to me.

1.5 DA bhat h6mra khuael) gel ch6l
khu6bael)
The rice had been fed to me.

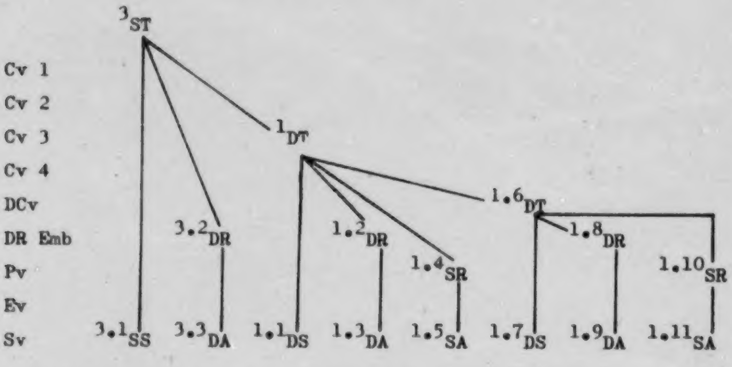

^{3}ST
Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv
^{1}DT
1.6_{DT}
3.2_{DR}
1.2_{DR}
1.8_{DR}
1.4_{SR}
1.10_{SR}
3.1_{SS}
3.3_{DA}
1.1_{DS}
1.3_{DA}
1.5_{SA}
1.7_{DS}
1.9_{DA}
1.11_{SA}

Figure 27. Derivations of SemiTransitive Clause, Subset a.

SemiTransitive Derivations A.

3 ST o gh6r me p/is16k
He entered the house.

3.1 SS o gh6r me p/is61 ch61
He had entered the house.

3.2 DR gh6r me p/is61 bh) gel
Entry into the house became finished.

3.3 DA gh6r me p/is61 bh) gel ch61
Entry into the house had become finished.

1 DT h6m okra gh6r me p/is/ul/u:
I caused him to enter the house.

1.1 DS h6m okra gh6r me p/is/une ch61/u:
I had caused him to enter the house.

1.2 DR okra gh6r me p/isael) bh) gel
p/isab6)
He finished causing (someone) to enter the house.

1.3 DA okra gh6r me p/isael) bh) gel ch61
p/isab6)
He had finished causing (someone) to enter the house.

1.4 SR gh6r me p/isael gel
The house was entered.

1.5 SA gh6r me p/isael gel ch6l
The house had been entered.

1.6 DT 6ha: okra gh6r me p/isb/ul/u:
You caused (someone) to cause him to enter the house.

1.7 DS 6ha: okra gh6r me p/isb/une ch6l/u:
You had caused (someone) to cause him to enter the house.

1.8 DR okra gh6r me p/isbael bh) gel
He finished causing (someone to cause someone) to enter the house.

1.9 DA okra gh6r me p/isbael bh) gel ch6l
He had finished causing (someone to cause someone) to enter the house.

1.10 SR gh6r me p/isbael gel
The house was caused to be entered.

1.11 SA gh6r me p/isbael gel ch6l
The house had been caused to be entered.

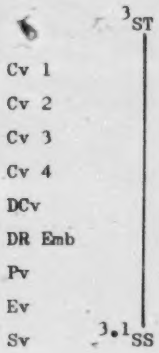


Figure 28. Derivations of SemiTransitive Clause, Subset b.

SemiTransitive Derivations B.

3 ST o h6mra dekhai p6r6l
That (thing) appeared to me.

3.1 SS o h6mra dekhai p6r6l ch6l
That (thing) had appeared to me.

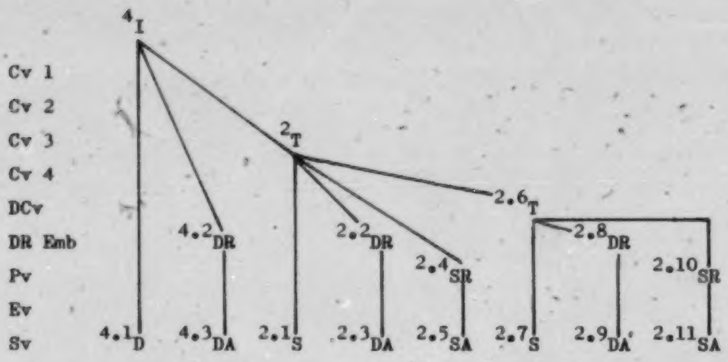

Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv
4I
2T
2.6T
4.2DR
2.2DR
2.4SR
2.8DR
2.10SR
4.1D
4.3DA
2.1S
2.3DA
2.5SA
2.7S
2.9DA
2.11SA

Figure 29. Derivations of Intransitive Clause, Subset a.

Intransitive Derivations A.

4 I b6cca sut61
The baby slept.

4.1 D b6cca sut61
The baby had slept.

4.2 DR b6cca ke sut61 bh) gel
The baby finished sleeping.

4.3 DA b6cca ke sut61 bh) gel ch61
The baby had finished sleeping.

2 T h6m b6cca ke sut/ul/u:
I caused the baby to sleep.

2.1 S h6m b6cca ke sut/une ch61/u:
I had caused the baby to sleep.

2.2 DR b6cca ke sutael) bh) gel
sutab6)
The baby was caused to sleep (completed). (The baby was put to sleep.)

2.3 DA b6cca ke sutael) bh) gel ch61
sutab6)
The baby had been caused to sleep (completed). (The baby had been put to sleep.)

2.4 SR b6cca ke sutael gel
The baby was caused to sleep.

2.5 SA b6cca ke sutael gel ch61
The baby had been caused to sleep.

2.6 T h6m b6cca ke sutb/ul/u:
I caused (someone) to cause the baby to sleep.

2.7 S h6m b6cca ke sutb/une ch61/u:
I had caused (someone) to cause the baby to sleep.

2.8 DR b6cca ke sutbael bh) gel
(Someone) caused (another) to put the baby to sleep.

2.9 DA b6cca ke sutbael bh) gel ch61
(Someone) had caused (another) to put the baby to sleep.

2.10 SR b6cca ke sutbael gel
The baby was caused to be put to sleep.

2.11 SA b6cca ke sutbael gel ch61
The baby had been caused to be put to sleep.

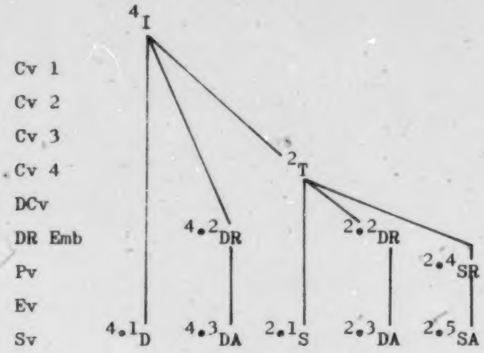


Figure 30. Derivations of Intransitive Clause, Subset b.

Intransitive Derivations B.

4 I o haphi kel6k
He yawned.

4.1 D o haphi kaene ch61
He had yawned.

4.2 DR okra haphi k6r6 bh) gel
He finished yawning.

4.3 DA okra haphi k6r6 bh) gel ch61
He had finished yawning.

2 T h6m okra haphi k6r/ul/u:)
k6rb/ul/u:)
I caused him to yawn.

2.1 S h6m okra haphi k6r/une) ch61/u:
k6rb/une)
I had caused him to yawn.

2.2 DR okra haphi k6rab6 bh) gel
He caused (someone) to finish yawning.

2.3 DA okra haphi k6rab6 bh) gel ch61
He had caused (someone) to finish yawning.

2.4 SR okra haphi k6rael) gel
k6rbael)
He was caused to yawn.

2.5 SA okra haphi k6rael) gel ch61
k6rbael)
He had been caused to yawn.

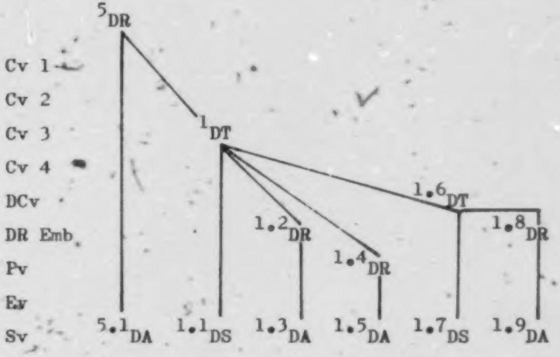

5 DR
Cv 1
Cv 2
1 DT
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
1.6 DT
1.2 DR
DR Emb
1.8 DR
1.4 DR
Pv
Ev
Sv
5.1 DA
1.1 DS
1.3 DA
1.5 DA
1.7 DS
1.9 DA

Figure 31. Derivations of a DiReceptive Clause.

DiReceptive Derivations.

5 DR ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:cl6in
A letter reached the Pradhan Panch (head man).

5.1 DA ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:c61 ch61
A letter had reached the Pradhan Panch.

1 DT h6m ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:c/uli6in
I caused a letter to reach the Pradhan Panch.

1.1 DS h6m ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:c/une ch61/u:
I had caused a letter to reach the Pradhan Panch.

1.2 DR ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:cael) bh) gel
p)hu:cab6)
I finished causing a letter to reach the Pradhan Panch.

1.3 DA ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:cael) bh) gel ch61
p)hu:cab6)
I had finished causing a letter to reach the Pradhan Panch.

1.4 DR ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:cael) gel
p)hu:cbael)
A letter was caused to reach the Pradhan Panch.

1.5 DA ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:cael) gel ch61
p)hu:cbael)
A letter had been caused to reach the Pradhan Panch.

1.6 DT h6m Pr6dhan P6nc ke ekTa ciTThi p)hu:cb/uli6in
I caused (someone) to cause a letter to reach the Pradhan Panch.

1.7 DS h6m Pr6dhan P6nc ke ekTa ciTThi p)hu:cb/une ch61/u:
I had caused (someone) to cause a letter to reach the Pradhan Panch.

1.8 DR ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:cbael bh) gel
A letter finished being caused to reach the Pradhan Panch.

1.9 DA ekTa ciTThi Pr6dhan P6nc ke p)hu:cbael bh) gel ch61
A letter had finished being caused to reach the Pradhan Panch.

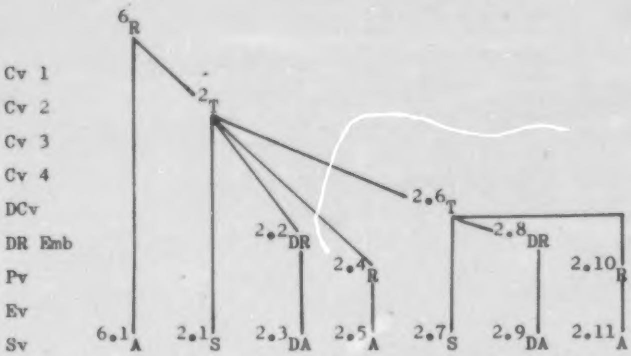

Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv
6 R
2 T
2.6 T
2.2 DR
2.8 DR
2.4 R
2.10 R
6.1 A
2.1 S
2.3 DA
2.5 A
2.7 S
2.9 DA
2.11 A

Figure 32. Derivations of Receptive Clause, Subset a.

Receptive Derivations A.

6 R Jibach m/ir gel
Jibach died.

6.1 A Jibach m/ir gel ch61
Jibach had died.

2 T Jibach hunka marl6in
Jibach murdered him.

2.1 S Jibach hunka mar61 ch61
Jibach had murdered him.

2.2 DR Jibach ke mar61 bh) gel
Jibach became murdered.

2.3 DA Jibach ke mar61 bh) gel ch61
Jibach had become murdered.

2.4 R Jibach mar61 gel
Jibach was murdered.

2.5 A Jibach mar61 gel ch61
Jibach had been murdered.

2.6 T Syam Jibach ke m6rb/ul6k
Syam caused (someone) to murder Jibach.

2.7 S Syam Jibach ke m6rb/une ch616in
Syam had caused (someone) to murder Jibach.

2.8 DR Jibach ke m6rbael bh) gel
Jibach became caused to be murdered.

2.9 DA Jibach ke m6rbael bh) gel ch61
Jibach had become caused to be murdered.

2.10 R Jibach m6rbael gel
Jibach was caused to be murdered.

2.11 A Jibach m6rbael gel ch61
Jibach had been caused to be murdered.

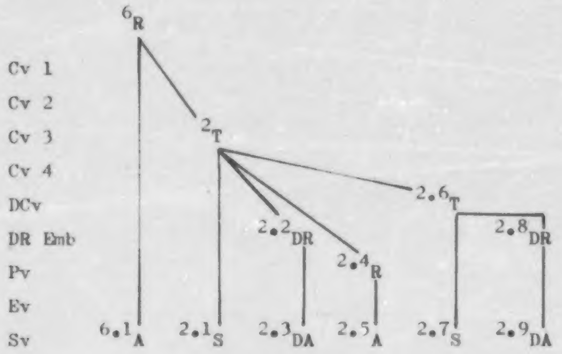


Figure 33. Derivations of Receptive Clause, Subset b.

Receptive Derivations B.

6 R ghyu p6gh/il gel
The clarified butter melted.

6.1 A ghyu p6gh6161 ch61
The clarified butter had melted.

2 T h6m ghyu p6gh61/ul/u:
I caused the clarified butter to melt.

2.1 S h6m ghyu p6gh61/une ch61/u:
I had caused the clarified butter to melt.

2.2 DR ghyu ke p6gh61ael) bh) gel
p6gh61ab6)
The clarified butter was caused to melt (completed).

2.3 DA ghyu ke p6gh61ael) bh) gel ch61
p6gh61ab6)
The clarified butter had been caused to melt (completed).

2.4 R ghyu p6gh6lael) gel
p6gh6lbael)
The clarified butter was caused to melt.

2.5 A ghyu p6gh6lael) gel ch6l
p6gh6lbael)
The clarified butter had been caused to melt.

2.6 T h6m ghyu ke p6gh6lb/ul/u:
I caused (someone) to cause the clarified butter to melt.

2.7 S h6m ghyu ke p6gh6lb/une ch6l/u:
I had caused (someone) to cause the clarified butter to melt.

2.8 DR ghyu ke p6gh6lbael bh) gel
(Someone) caused (another) to melt the clarified butter
(completed).

2.9 DA ghyu ke p6gh6lbael bh) gel ch6l
(Someone) had caused (another) to melt the clarified butter
(completed).

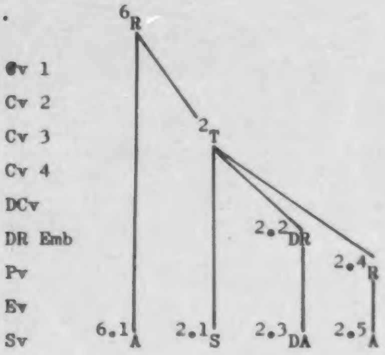


Figure 34. Derivations of Receptive Clause, Subset c.

Receptive Derivations C.

6 R k6pra ghok/ic gel
The cloth shrank.

6.1 A k6pra ghokc6l ch6l
The cloth had shrunk.

2 T h6m k6pra ghokc/ul/u:
I shrank the cloth.

2.1 S h6m k6pra ghokc/une ch61/u:
I had shrunk the cloth.

2.2 DR h6mra k6pra ghokcael) bh) gel
ghokcab6)
I finished shrinking the cloth.

2.3 DA h6mra k6pra ghokcael) bh) gel ch61
ghokcab6)
I had finished shrinking the cloth.

2.4 R k6pra ghokcael gel
The cloth was shrunk.

2.5 A k6pra ghokcael gel ch61
The cloth had been shrunk.

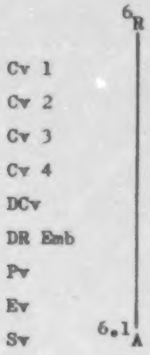


Figure 35. Derivations of Receptive Clause, Subset d.

Receptive Derivations D.

6 R b6rt6n phuiT gel
The pot broke.

6.1 A b6rt6n phuT61 ch61
The pot had broken.

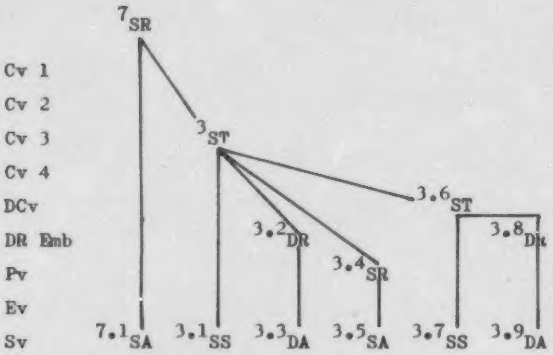

Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv
7 SR
3 ST
3.6 ST
3.2 DR
3.8 DR
3.4 SR
7.1 SA
3.1 SS
3.3 DA
3.5 SA
3.7 SS
3.9 DA

Figure 36. Derivations of a SemiReceptive Clause.

SemiReceptive Derivations.

7 SR okra bhut laig gel
She got spirit possessed.

7.1 SA okra bhut laig gel ch61
She had become spirit possessed.

3 ST o okra bhut 16g/ul6k
He caused her to get spirit possessed.

3.1 SS o okra bhut 16g/une ch61
He had caused her to get spirit possessed.

3.2 DR okra bhut 16gael) bh) gel
16gab6)
She became spirit possessed.

3.3 DA okra bhut 16gael) bh) gel ch61
16gab6)
She had become spirit possessed.

3.4 SR okra bhut 16gael) gel
16gbael)
She was spirit possessed.

3.5 SS okra bhut 16gael) gel ch61
16gbael)
She had been spirit possessed.

3.6 ST o okra bhut 16gb/ul6k
He caused (someone) to cause her to get spirit possessed.

3.7 SS o okra bhut 16gb/une ch61
He had caused (someone) to cause her to get spirit possessed.

3.8 DR okra bhut 16gbael bh) gel
He caused (someone) to cause (another) to become spirit possessed.

3.9 DA okra bhut 16gbael bh) gel ch61
He had caused (someone) to cause (another) to become spirit possessed.

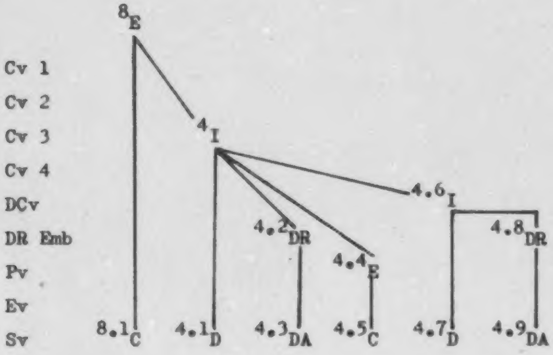


Figure 37. Derivations of an Eventive Clause.

Eventive Derivations.

8 E sonit b/ih gel
Blood flowed.

8.1 C sonit b/ih gel ch61
Blood had flowed.

4 I o sonit b6h/ul6k
He caused blood to flow.

4.1 D o sonit b6h/une ch61
He had caused blood to flow.

4.2 DR h6mra sonit b6hael) bh) gel
b6hab6)
I caused (someone) to let blood (completed).

4.3 DA h6mra sonit b6hael) bh) gel ch61
b6hab6)
I had caused (someone) to let blood (completed).

4.4 E sonit b6hael) gel
b6h6bael)
Blood was flowing.

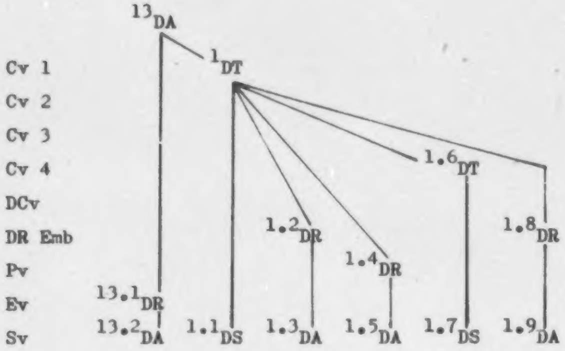
4.5 C sonit b6hael) gel ch6l
b6h6bael)
Blood had been flowing.

4.6 I o sonit b6h6b/ul6k
He caused (someone) to cause blood to flow.

4.7 D o sonit b6h6b/une ch6l
He had caused (someone) to cause blood to flow.

4.8 DR h6mra sonit b6h6bael bh) gel
I caused (someone) to cause (another) to let blood (completed).

4.9 DA h6mra sonit b6h6bael bh) gel ch6l
I had caused (someone) to cause (another) to let blood (completed).



13_{DA}
1_{DT}
Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv
1.6_{DT}
1.2_{DR}
1.8_{DR}
1.4_{DR}
13.1_{DR}
13.2_{DA}
1.1_{DS}
1.3_{DA}
1.5_{DA}
1.7_{DS}
1.9_{DA}

Figure 38. Derivations of DiAttributive Clause, Subsets a. and b.

DiAttributive Derivations.

13 DA b6rt6n me bhat /ich
There is rice in the pot.

13.1 DR b6rt6n me bhat bh) gel
Rice finished being in the pot.

13.2 DA b6rt6n me bhat bh) gel /ich
Rice has finished being in the pot.

1 DT h6m b6rt6n me bhat kel/u:
I did (cooked) rice in the pot.

1.1 DS h6m b6rt6n me bhat kaene chi
I have done (cooked) rice in the pot.

1.2 DR h6mra b6rt6n me bhat k6r6 bh) gel
I finished doing rice in the pot.

1.3 DA h6mra b6rt6n me bhat k6r6 bh) gel /ich
I have finished doing rice in the pot.

1.4 DR b6rt6n me bhat k6rael) gel
k6rbael)
Rice was done in the pot.

1.5 DA b6rt6n me bhat k6rael) gel /ich
k6rbael)
Rice has been done in the pot.

1.6 DT h6m b6rt6n me bhat k6r/ul/u:
k6rb/ul/u:
I caused (someone) to do rice in the pot.

1.7 DS h6m b6rt6n me bhat k6r/une) /ich
k6rb/une)
I have caused (someone) to do rice in the pot.

1.8 DR b6rt6n me bhat k6rab6 bh) gel
I finished causing rice to be done in the pot.

1.9 DA b6rt6n me bhat k6rab6 bh) gel /ich
I have finished causing rice to be done in the pot.

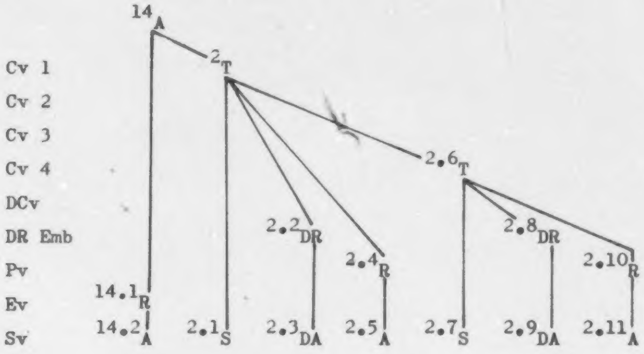

14A
2T
2.6T
Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv
2.2DR
2.4R
2.8DR
2.10R
14.1R
14.2A
2.1S
2.3DA
2.5A
2.7S
2.9DA
2.11A

Figure 39. Derivations of Attributive Clause, Subset a.

Attributive Derivations A.

14 A pain nung6r /ich
The water is salty.

14.1 R pain nung6r bh) gel
The water became salty.

14.2 A pain nung6r bh) gel /ich
The water has become salty.

2 T h6m pain ke nung6r kel/u:
I salted the water.

2.1 S h6m pain ke nung6r kaene chi
I have salted the water.

2.2 DR h6mra pain nung6r k6r6 bh) gel
I finished salting the water.

2.3 DA h6mra pain nung6r k6r6 bh) gel /ich
I have finished salting the water.

2.4 R pain nung6r kael gel
The water was salted.

2.5 A pain nung6r kael gel /ich
The water has been salted.

2.6 T h6m pain ke nung6r k6r/ul/u:)
k6rb/ul/u:)
I caused (someone) to salt the water.

2.7 S h6m pain ke nung6r k6r/une) /ich
k6rb/une)
I have caused (someone) to salt the water.

2.8 DR h6mra pain nung6r k6rab6 bh) gel
I finished causing the water to be salted.

2.9 DA h6mra pain nung6r k6rab6 bh) gel /ich
I have finished causing the water to be salted.

2.10 R pain nung6r k6rael) gel
k6rbael)
The water was caused to be salted.

2.11 A pain nung6r k6rael) gel /ich
k6rbael)
The water has been caused to be salted.

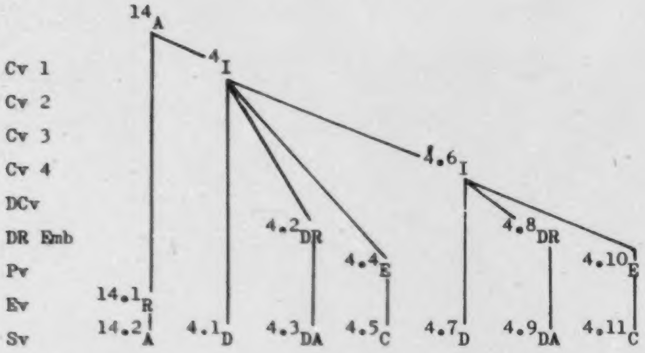

Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv
14A
4I
4.6I
4.2DR
4.4E
4.8DR
4.10E
14.1R
14.2A
4.1D
4.3DA
4.5C
4.7D
4.9DA
4.11C

Figure 40. Derivations of Attributive Clause, Subset b.

Attributive Derivations B.

14 A o g6lti /ich
That is a mistake.

14.1 R o g6lti bh) gel
They got a mistake.

14.2 A o g6lti bh) gel /ich
That has got a mistake.

4 I h6m g6lti kel/u:
I made a mistake.

4.1 D h6m g6lti kaene chi
I have made a mistake.

4.2 DR h6mra g6lti k6r6 bh) gel
I finished making a mistake.

4.3 DA h6mra g6lti k6r6 bh) gel /ich
I have finished making a mistake.

4.4 E g6lti kael gel
A mistake was made.

4.5 C g6lti kael gel /ich
A mistake has been made.

4.6 I h6m g6lti k6r/ul/u:
k6rb/ul/u:
I caused (someone) to make a mistake.

4.7 D h6m g6lti k6r/une) /ich
k6rb/une)
I have caused (someone) to make a mistake.

4.8 DR h6mra g6lti k6rab6 bh) gel
I finished causing (someone) to make a mistake.

4.9 DA h6mra g6lti k6rab6 bh) gel /ich
I have finished causing (someone) to make a mistake.

4.10 E g6lti k6rael) gel
k6rbael)
A mistake was caused to be made.

4.11 C g6lti k6rael) gel /ich
k6rbael)
A mistake has been caused to be made.

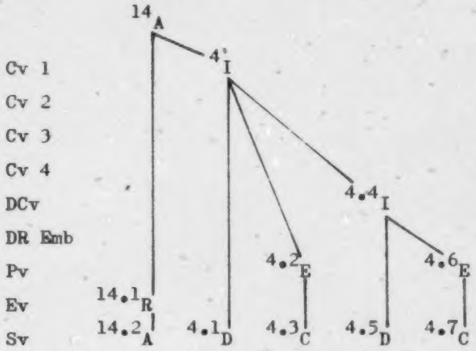

14A
4I
Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv
4.4I
4.2E
4.6E
14.1R
14.2A
4.1D
4.3C
4.5D
4.7C

Figure 41. Derivations of Attributive Clause, Subset c.

Attributive Derivations C.

14 A dukh /ich
Troubles are. (troubles/sorrow exist)

14.1 R dukh bh) gel
Troubles became.

14.2 A dukh bh) gel /ich
Troubles have become.

4 I h6m dukh kel/u:
I regretted.

4.1 D h6m dukh kaene chi
I have regretted.

4.2 E dukh kael gel
There were troubles.

4.3 C dukh kael gel /ich
There have been troubles.

4.4 I h6m dukh k6r/ul/u:)
k6rb/ul/u:)
I caused (someone) regret.

4.5 D h6m dukh k6r/une) chi
k6rb/une)
I have caused (someone) regret.

4.6 E dukh k6rael) gel
k6rbael)
Troubles were caused.

4.7 C dukh k6rael) gel /ich
k6rbael)
Troubles have been caused.

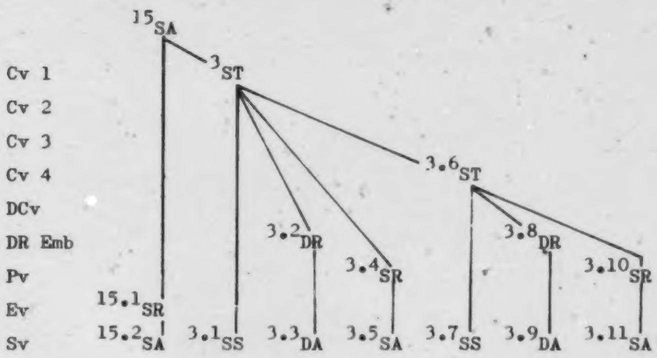

15SA
3ST
3.6ST
3.2DR
3.8DR
3.4SR
3.10SR
15.1SR
15.2SA
3.1SS
3.3DA
3.5SA
3.7SS
3.9DA
3.11SA
Cv 1
Cv 2
Cv 3
Cv 4
DCv
DR Emb
Pv
Ev
Sv

Figure 42. Derivations of SemiAttributive Clause, Subsets a. and b.

SemiAttributive Derivations.

15 SA gh6r me 6nhar /ich
It is dark in the house.

15.1 SR gh6r me 6nhar bh) gel
It became dark in the house.

15.2 SA gh6r me 6nhar bh) gel /ich
It has become dark in the house.

3 ST h6m gh6r me 6nhar keI/u:
I made it dark in the house.

3.1 SS h6m gh6r me 6nhar kaene chı
I have made it dark in the house.

3.2 DR h6mra gh6r me 6nhar k6r6 bh) gel
I finished making it dark in the house.

3.3 DA h6mra gh6r me 6nhar k6r6 bh) gel /ich
I have finished making it dark in the house.

3.4 SR gh6r me 6nhar kael gel
It was made dark in the house.

3.5 SA gh6r me 6nhar kael gel /ich
It has been made dark in the house.

3.6 ST h6m gh6r me 6nhar k6r/ul/u:)
k6rb/ul/u:)
I caused (someone) to make it dark in the house.

3.7 SS h6m gh6r me 6nhar k6r/une) chi
k6rb/une)
I have caused (someone) to make it dark in the house.

3.8 DR h6mra gh6r me 6nhar k6rab6 bh) gel
I finished causing (someone) to make it dark in the house.

3.9 DA h6mra gh6r me 6nhar k6rab6 bh) gel /ich
I have finished causing (someone) to make it dark in the house.

3.10 SR gh6r me 6nhar k6rael) gel
k6rbael)
It was caused to be dark in the house.

3.11 SA gh6r me 6nhar k6rael) gel /ich
k6rbael)
It has been caused to be dark in the house.

The Circumstantial clause pattern does not derive.

E. Dependent Patterns.

In this section a brief description of Maithili dependent clause patterns will be illustrated. It is not possible at this stage of analysis to give a complete description of the dependent clauses.

Function Form	Contrafactual	Condition	Concessional	Purpose	Sequence	Time	Relatives
-/it/u:	+						
j/u:		+					
-/it			+				
-k lel				+			
-i					+		
-k6					+		
-k bad						+	
s6 p6hine						+	
s6m6y6 me						+	
je							+
j6t6							+
j6kh6n							+

Figure 43. Dependent Clauses in Maithili.

Contrafactual Construction. The conditional clause optionally uses the conditional word j/u: with the verb in the Imperfect Participle form, plus the person suffixes. The participial form -/it undergoes necessary morphophonemic changes according to the necessary person suffix. The second clause is connected by the particle t6 and has the verb in the same form. This is exemplified below.

6ha: aibt/u: t6 h6mra dekht/u:
If you had come you would have seen me.

or, alternatively,

j/u: 6ha: aibt/u: t6 h6mra dekht/u:
If you had come you would have seen me.

h6m p/irh s6kt/u: t6 h6m sikh lene r6h/it/u:
If I could have studied I would have learnt.

Conditional Clause. This differs from the Contrafactual clause in that the verb may take any tense and has an independent form, but the condition word j/u: makes it dependent. The second clause is linked by the particle t6 as in the Contrafactual clause.

j/u: o kukur ke jor s6 marthin t6 o kaiT let6i
If he hits the dog hard it will bite.

j/u: h6m jag6b t6 6dhy6n k6r6b
If I wake up I will study.

Concessional Clause. The concessional clause takes the Imperfect Participle verb form, plus either of the emphatic particles -o or -e, often followed by the postposition me 'in'. It is restricted to three verbs only, r6h6b 'to remain', /ich 'to be', and hae6b 'to be'. The latter may be used anywhere that r6h6b is used, but its occurrence is rare. The verb /ich may onlybe used in the case of alienable possession.

dhyan r6h/ito (hoito) o n6i p6irh s6k/it /ich
Although having wealth, he is not able to read.

p6i 6ch/ite me h6m bhukle r6h6l/u:
Although having money, I was famished.

Purpose Clause. This is an Axis-Relator construction, the relator being either -k lel or ke lel.

o 6p6n b6r6d sukr din b6jar me bechbak lel l} gel
He took his bullock to the market on Friday in order to sell it.

o 6dhy6n k6r6 ke lel s6bere uTh/it /ich
He gets up early in order to study.

Sequence Clause. There are two conjunctive participle suffixes, -i and -k6 (-ke being a variant of the latter). There is no apparent difference between the two, both signalling that the action has been performed prior to the action of the main clause.

i dekhi hun6k istri k6h6lk6in
Having seen this his wife said to him ...

etek k6hik6 h6m s6mapt k6r/i chi
Having said that much I am finishing.

sisa me 6p6n muh dekhi o ghuimk6 ch/il aelah
Having seen his own face in the mirror, having walked, he returned.

Time Clauses. These are Axis-Relator constructions. The first comprises verbal noun III in its oblique form, plus or minus participants, as the Axis plus the Relator -k bad, alternatively written as ke bad.

kailh o kukur ke marl6k bad i hunka kaiT lel6k
Yesterday after hitting the dog it bit him.

Janakpur gel6k bad o thaik gel ch6lah
After going to Janakpur he was tired.

The second construction comprises verbal noun III in its oblique form, plus or minus participants, as the Axis, plus the Relator s6 p6hine. Verbal noun II may alternatively be used in its oblique form.

Janakpur gel6 s6 p6hine o khael6in
Before going to Janakpur he ate.

hunka phul deb6 s6 p6hine o udas ch6lah
Before giving her flowers she was sad.

The third construction may use the Genitive of verbal noun III, plus or minus participants, plus s6m6y6 'time' as the Axis, with the Relator me 'in', or the Imperfect Participle plus kal 'time' as the Axis with me 'in' as the Relator.

kukur ke marl6k s6m6y6 me o b6hut khisiael ch6lah
At the time of hitting the dog he was very angry.

o Janakpur jait kal me o thaik gel
At the time of going to Janakpur he was tired.

Relative Clauses. The clause is made dependent by the presence of the relative je. The form of the verb is the same as that in an independent clause.

o je 6ha:ke kitab del6in se h6m6r bhae /ich
He who gave you the book is my brother.

o je sinema dekhl6k h6m6r saThi /ich
He who saw the film is my friend.

j6t6 b6rsa bhel Jaleswar ch6l
Where it rained was Jaleshwar.

j6t6 o r6h/it ch/ith bh6r6t me /ich
Where he is living is in India.

j6kh6n o kukur ke mar6lkhin i hunka kaiT lel6k
When he hit the dog it bit him.

j6kh6n ciTThi hunka p)hu:chl6in o khusi bhelah
When the letter reached him he became happy.

Abbreviations.

1st	First Person
1st+3h	First Person plus Third Person Honorific
2h	Second Person Honorific
2mh	Second Person Mid-Honorific
2nh	Second Person Non-Honorific
3h	Third Person Honorific
3hf	Third Person Honorific Feminine
3h+1st	Third Person Honorific plus First Person
3h+3h	Third Person Honorific plus Third Person Honorific
3h+3nh	Third Person Honorific plus Third Person Non-Honorific
3nh	Third Person Non-Honorific
3nh+3h	Third Person Non-Honorific plus Third Person Honorific
3nh+3nh	Third Person Non-honorific plus Third Person Non-Honorific
+	Plus
±	Plus or Minus
–	Minus
A	Attributive
Act	Actor
AdjP	Adjectival Phrase
Adv P	Adverbial Phrase
an	Animate
an/inan	Animate or Inanimate
C	Circumstantial
CC	Consonant Consonant
cl	Classifier
cont'd.	Continued
CPL	Complement
Cmp	Completive
Cv	Causativizer
Cw	Consonant followed by 'w'
Cy	Consonant followed by 'y'
D	Descriptive
DA	DiAttributive
DCv	Double Causative
DR	DiReceptive
DR Emb	DiReceptive Embedding
DS	DiStative
DT	DiTransitive
E	Eventive
emph	Emphatic
Ev	Eventivization
Evt	Event
F	Future
Gol	Goal Marked
Gol+Loc	Goal Marked plus Locative Marked
(h)	Honorific
hon.	Honorific
I	Intransitive

Im	Imperfect
Imp	Imperative
In	Intentional Aspect
inan	Inanimate
Int	Interrogative
IO	Indirect Object
Lit.	Literally
Loc	Locative
Loc+Sce	Locative Marked plus Source Marked
Mea	Means
(mh)	Mid-honorific
mid-hon.	Mid-Honorific
(nh)	Non-Honorific
non-hon.	Non-Honorific
NP	Noun Phrase
nr.	Near
O	Object
OptGol	Optionally Goal Marked
p.	Person
P	Predicate
PEx	Predicate Extension
Pf	Perfect
pl.	Plural
Pr	Present
PrI	Present Imperfect
Pst	Past
Pv	Passive
R	Receptive
Rc	Recent
REF	Referent
rem.	Remote
S (Box 1)	Subject
S	Stative
SA	SemiAttributive
Sce	Source
sing.	Singular
Sit	Site
SR	SemiReceptive
SS	SemiStative
ST	SemiTransitive
Sta	State
Sv	Stativization
T	Transitive
Umk	Unmarked
Und	Undergoer
VP	Verb Phrase
vs	Versus
))	Either may occur

Footnotes.

[1] The verb lag6b 'to stick' needs further analysis. One instance has been noted where in the Completive aspect the form may not be laig gel, but only lag6l, which seems to put it in the DiAttributive clause pattern.

6ha:k p6riwar h6mra nik lag6l 'I liked your family.'

In most cases there is no difference in meaning between laig gel and lag6l in the Completive aspect. However, a number of cases have been noted where there is a meaning difference. The form laig gel would remain in the Receptive row, but possibly the form lag6l would belong in the Attributive row.

h6mra p6riwar me mon laig gel	'I like the family (but previously I did not).'
h6mra p6riwar me mon lag6l	'I like the family.'
bhoj6n h6mra b6rhi:ya: laig gel	'The meal tasted good to me (but previously it did not.'
bhoj6n h6mra b6rhi:ya: lag6l	'The meal tasted good to me.'

If indeed lag6l does belong in the Attributive row, then it would derive differently from all the other attributive verbs in that it may causativize directly, and does not take the verb k6r6b 'to do', which is the characteristic causativization of Attributive verbs.

Two Sites are also present in the above examples of:

h6mra p6riwar me mon laig gel 'I like the family.'
Sit Gol Sit Loc

h6mra p6riwar me mon lag6l 'I like the family.'
Sit Gol Sit Loc

This brings these examples outside the tree diagram of the full transitivity system in that there is no allowance there for two Sites. It may be that one could be called a peripheral item.

[2] It is to be noted that there is also a Recent Past Imperfect and a Recent Past Perfect. The Recent Past Perfect carries the same limitation of time as does the Recent Completive aspect in that it is limited to a time past within the present day. It could be assumed that this time limitation would also apply to the Recent Past Imperfect, but this is not yet clear.

dekhne ch6l/u:h6	'I had seen'.--within today	Recent Past Perfect
dekh/it ch6l/u:h6	'I was seeing'.	Recent Past Imperfect

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